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MUSICAL INSPIRATION IN ENGLISH LITERATURE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

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WITH the advent of Romanticism, music assumed a pre-dominant position in the literary inspiration of Europe. This is not the place to determine the reasons. As for that, its position was not of equal importance in all literatures; if it were necessary to assign ranks, we should put Germany at the head and England next.

If England may lay claim to such high rank it is because, contrary to general opinion, she is a very musical nation, nourished on folk-lore and folk-song. The writers of the twelfth century testify that the English are natural musicians; they are fond of singing in several parts, and possess an instinct for polyphony which manifests itself from infancy. Did not the learned Riemann venture the assertion, that the employment of the Third originated in England? Besides, English writers have always shown a lively interest in music; but, while this interest, during the centuries preceding, was expressed in a somewhat dry fashion, at once technical and caustic, it took on a fresh, lyrical aspect with dawning romanticism.

LYRICISM AND HUMOR

This should not be sought either in Byron (despite the "Hebrew Melodies" and the "Waltz"), or even in Keats. Assuredly, the language is suave and mellifluous in which they set down their

tonal impressions, and both feel the nostalgia of the Provençal songs. But the conventional attitude of which they are unable to divest themselves does not permit them to conceive music otherwise than through the harp of Ossian—the music of a white-bearded bard seated on a rock on the brink of an abyss; music whose vague, weird strains accord with the horror of nightly gloom, with the incessant moaning of the wind, with a wandering among ruins or in the unknown recesses of desolate crags. The nightingale (Keats), Pan, the ebony-tipped flutes of "Endymion," are the sole expositors of their music. If they love the voice—in "The Eve of St. Agnes" Porphyro sings the ballad of "La belle dame sans merci" with a well-attuned voice that charms the young maiden—it is not the sung melody that they love, but the poetically vague "idea" of that melody:

Heard melodies are sweet, but those unheard are sweeter.

And when Shelley, deploring (in "Adonais") the death of Keats, invokes the soul of the departed poet with the line

Most musical of mourners, weep again,

he unveils his own soul rather than that of his friend. Nor is his soul without the literary taint. It addresses to Pan its hymn of "sweet pipings." It celebrates, too, the birds ("To a Skylark"), the voices of Nature ("Ode to the West Wind"; "To a Lady with a Guitar"; "The Invitation"; "Earth, Ocean, Air"), the harmony of the spheres ("Epipsychidion") and the human voice ("To Constantia, Singing"). Yet these accents already transcend the bounds of poetry; they already strive to penetrate to the heart of music, and beneath the encrusting form one can glimpse the soul of a musician who is athirst for music. The famous lines of the piece, "I pant for the music which is divine," express this as yet vague longing as it finds expression in some furtive passages of "Prometheus Unbound" and "The Cenci."

With Wordsworth, musical sentiment is still more intimate. An auditive poet, if ever there was one, Wordsworth is fond of garnering, even in his earliest poems, all the sounds and all the far-away music of nightfall; "night sounds," "twilight sounds," are zealously developed concepts. For such is his idiosyncrasy—he vibrates to sounds. On his travels, the songs affect him strongly—songs of the harvester, whose voice fills the valley and resounds long in his heart ("The Solitary Reaper"), songs of the Tyrolese, "precious music of the soul" ("Feelings of the Tyrolese"); and, like Senancour, he vibrates to the *Ranz des vaches*, which awakens

a multitude of harmonies in the echoes of the Gemmi. This is not because he unwillingly brings sacrifice to the taste of the times; twice he will sing, as in duty bound, the lark (1805 and 1825) and the cuckoo (1804 and 1845); he will not forget to pay due homage to sonorous Nature ("Guilt on Sorrow"; "There Was a Boy"), or to indulge in effusions on the harp, that instrument so dear to romanticism; or, to hymn the clouds, he will seize the lyre of Orpheus and a Druidic harp ("To the Clouds," 1825). But side by side with these urbanities of the "school" there emerges a sense for *musical truth* thitherto unknown in English poetry. This is shown in the poem "The Power of Music" (1806) on a violinist whom the poet, it is needless to say, compares with Orpheus, and who brings joy to all his auditors. A living realism mingles with the lyrical effusion; the seductive strains bring to a halt the errand-bound 'prentice, the newsman, the lamplighter, the porter, the lass, "that tall man" ("the music stirs in him like wind through a tree"), a cripple, a mother and her child; they no longer hear the noises of the street, they hear only the music:

The weary have life, and the hungry have bliss,
The mourner is cheered and the anxious have rest.

A first attempt, awkward, yet full of promise, to restore a musical theme by the aid of everyday familiar observation.

For Coleridge, the exact contemporary of Beethoven, it was reserved to vitalize all the musical themes of romanticism. His opium-goaded nerves find a marvellously keen enjoyment in music—the more, that his temperament was that of a visionary. Grove relates that he saw, in the Marcia funebre of the Heroic Symphony, a procession all of a dark purple color. His intercourse with the romanticists of Germany revealed to him the value of musical inspiration for lyricism. At the outset he borrowed his themes from Ossian, like his contemporaries; the imposing music of Nature ("To the Author of Poems"), the bard and his harp ("Christabel"), Paradise "softly echoing" ("Religious Music"). Still, like Hoffmann and Novalis, he knows that music interprets the universal essence; he knows that the innocence of the Æolian harps is but the tangible symbol of this philosophy; he knows that in the concert of the mountains, torrents, trees and snows is hidden a cosmic thought. and that everything in Nature unites in these immense choruses in homage to the rising sun, and to God ("Hymn to the Earth"; "An Ode to the Rain"; "Hymn before Sunrise, in the Vale of Chamounix").

But with the progress of the century the wealth of musical inspiration in lyricism, both in prose and in poetry, is dispersed and attenuated in exaggerated imitations. Mrs. Radcliffe has eyes only for the sylph who flutters through the evening to the sighs of a "dying music." It becomes a fashion. Currer Bell, in her autobiography "Jane Eyre," avows that she is no musician, yet cannot refrain from lyrical dissertations on the sweetness of singing voices, "voices as soft as silver bells," "with musical sounds"; and of an evening, when the air is pure, she begs Rochester, whom she loves, "for Heaven's sake" to sing her something. This is what urges the dulcet authoress¹ of "The Cottage by the Cathedral" to celebrate the perfect music sung by the pure voices of children, the sweet, solemn music resounding among white columns, and to imagine conversations between household objects so as to allow the guitar and the hymnbook to indulge in long-winded speeches.

Thenceforward it was not the lyric, but the novel, which assumed the rôle of guardian of musical inspiration. Betwixt the old English humor and the new romantic exaltation a curious struggle is evident in Thackeray, that precisian who fancied that he could draw (witness the two sketches he left to illustrate "The Newcomes"). Thackeray brings music into his novels as an oblation to fashion (*Don Juan* is in favor, Taglioni is dancing, Mme. Schroeder-Devrient is playing *Fidelio*, Mendelssohn reigns); but his attitude is hesitant. His caustic temperament incites to mockery—but how remain insensible to the pathos of romanticism? So Thackeray, as regards music, oscillates between irony and exaltation. Solicitous of descriptive exactitude, this realist informs himself concerning what is sung and played; he actually describes, in four rather neat lines, a hearing of the *Battle of Victoria*; indeed, imitative music is the easiest to grasp. In this era of charades, played in society with musical accompaniment, he does not fail to serve up some specimens with a dash of satirical humor ("Vanity Fair"). When, in a charade, the necessity arises to illustrate a dromedary, the orchestra (he remarks) gets around the difficulty by playing the overture to Grétry's *La Caravane*; when the word is "Nightingale," it plays for the first syllable, "night," the little song "Dormez, dormez, chers amours"; for the second syllable, "in(n)," a passage from Boieldieu's *Jean de Paris*, "Ah! quel plaisir d'être en voyage"; and for the third, "gale," the

¹Mrs. Elizabeth Rundle Charles, who published, toward 1860, a collection of "studies in art" with the titles "The Cathedral Chimes," "What Makes Things Musical," "The Song without Words," "The Clock Bell and the Alarm Bell."

band begins a nautical medley—"All in the Downs," "Cease, Rude Boreas," etc. Then the whole word is illustrated by a ballet of the period, *Le Rossignol*.—Thackeray always excels in depicting old ladies who, on the piano, warm over the dead ashes of their passions. Mrs. Mackenzie, in "The Newcomes," plays, in the ancient style, dances, rondos, Scotch and Irish airs; she has her daughter take lessons of "M. Quatremain," and arranges musical soirées at which are sung Spanish seguidillas, German Lieder, French romances and Neapolitan canzonette. Thackeray never runs short of ammunition for riddling, in "The Book of Snobs," the pretences of the numskulls who go into ecstasies over the soirées they give, over the great pianist Thumpen-Strumpff and the great singer Cacohego; where the provincial snobs invite one, after coffee, to hear "ung peu de musick o salon," and Miss Emily takes her seat at the piano and Miss Maria takes her harp; and the guests praise Emily's fingering and Maria's pretty arms; and one recognizes the polkas, in passing, as old friends; and every day the young ladies practise exercises for four hours; and, in the intervals, the governess plays variations; and one follows Lord Carabas into his studio, where he takes pride in showing his ceiling decoration which depicts, allegorically, Painting, Architecture, and a feminine nudity holding a barrel-organ—this being Music.

But it is amusing to note how, in this splenetic scoffer, irony may be wedded to decided sentimentality. Major Dobbin (in "Vanity Fair"), who is passionately fond of the flute, takes his young wife Emmy to the country of the romantic Germans, and is delighted by the influence of this new climate on the musical taste of the lady.

Here it was that Emmy found her delight, and was introduced for the first time to the wonders of Mozart and Cimarosa. The Major's musical taste has been before alluded to, and his performances on the flute commended. But perhaps the chief pleasure he had in these operas, was in watching Emmy's rapture while listening to them. A new world of love and beauty broke upon her when she was introduced to those divine compositions: this lady had the keenest and finest sensibility, and how could she be indifferent when she heard Mozart? The tender parts of *Don Juan* awakened in her raptures so exquisite, that she would ask herself when she went to say her prayers of a night, whether it was not wicked to feel so much delight as that with which "Vedrai, carino," and "Batti, batti," filled her gentle little bosom?

Vivid melody, suave harmonies, pure and euphonious tones, all the romanticism of the musician.—Whereupon the Major protests, in similar strain, that the pleasure of listening to lovely music is like that of gazing on the stars of heaven or the vegetation

of earth. Our Emmy, sister to the deplored George Osborne, elicits from an old piano at a later day, when George is dead, uncertain tones whose "plaintive, jingling old age" render the surrounding sadness yet more sad. And this gives rise to a chapter of weird reminiscences, "The Old Piano." Of all her furniture, Emmy kept only this piano, thinking it a relic of George; and suddenly she finds herself undeceived. The piano, being no longer from George, loses its charm; when she is asked to play she replies that the instrument is dreadfully out of tune.

This sentimental trait, in contrast with humor, is again met with in Dickens, with a dash of phantasmagoria. Dickens, a man of fine and clear sensibility, descants upon the most various sounds with an extraordinary exactitude and diversity of detail. Call to mind the astonishing market-scene in "Oliver Twist" (Chap. XIX), the rattling in the workshop in "David Copperfield" (Chap. XXI), or, in "Barnaby Rudge," the long description of the "sprightly sounds" elicited by the locksmith with his hammer, the mutterings of revolution, the bewildering clang of the tocsin, and the chants mingled with buffoonery loudly voiced by the "Association"; and the numerous passages in "Sketches by Boz" and "American Notes" in which Dickens makes fun of music at the fair, of the honest folk who sing ballads, of the accordions and choral societies. Stirring scenes wherein arise confused noises and music are his delight. In "Humphrey Clinker" he dilates with ironical complacency on the shrieking of Colonel Rigworm while carriages are rattling, dogs bellowing, women screaming, all to the accompaniment of a strident band of violins, oboes, and cornets à pistons. Such situations he seizes on by preference to display his droll and fitful musical humor. But romanticism, with its indelible imprint, always regains the upperhand. There springs up, beside this caustic wit, a touching "musical poetry." In "David Copperfield" the Doctor is "music-mad," Agnes sings sweetly and expressively, Dora plays the guitar marvellously. Little Nell, in "The Old Curiosity Shop," has sickbed dreams of music that floats on to the rustling of angels' wings. Nor is there wanting the great romantic theme of Music in Nature. Throughout "Barnaby Rudge" the air is filled with real music; the lark of the poets is suitably glorified, together with the gentle murmurings of the breezes; or far-distant bells, like those of Hoffmann, insistently swell their fantastic tones. There is the bell in the old clocktower sounding the quarter-hours through the mists, with vibrations like the chattering of teeth; and in the "Christmas Carol" all these bells are sounding together in the house of Scrooge until the

apparition of the old fiddler, dead long years before, who makes the "old couples, seen as in a dream," dance. And there are the diabolical carillons of "Chimes," and the horrible grinding of teeth in "Cricket on the Hearth." And that unforgettable page in "Barnaby Rudge" where the clock strikes the hour of assassination; it shrieks through the quivering trees; the owls catch it in passing, and answer it; the despairing nightingale loses his voice. But the impenitent humorist reappears and modifies the musical theme. While Barnaby's crow whistles and sings with infernal glee, Mrs. Varden's voice strikes a more comical note; it modulates and runs up and down the gamut in every imaginable key and mode. There is an abounding delicacy, too, of familiar touches in home music, as where, in "The Mystery of Edwin Drood," Jasper accompanies Rosa Bud's singing on the piano; how he plays from memory, and, as the young girl is a thoughtless little creature, he follows the song on her lips and now and then brings her back to the key by softly striking the note she should sing.

Such intimate poetry of music in the home-circle was, at that period, a part of the romantic musical patrimony. One may find tableaux of similar sort in Louisa Alcott's "Little Women"; every evening Beth plays the piano while Meg, with her flute-like voice, Jo, who takes a quaver for a crotchet, and Amy, chirping like a cricket, sing with Mother "Crinkle, crinkle, 'ittle 'tar."

Airy humor, that gains ground the further one departs from romanticism.

This is peculiarly manifest in Thomas Hardy, during the closing years of the century. Hardy takes note, with tender amusement, of the taste of the "common people" for old folk-songs and ancient folk-dances. A favorite figure in his tales is the old fiddler, something of a drinker and dreamer, who wags his head and twists his legs, and occasionally scandalizes his hearers by his unconscious naïveté. We find him in "Life's Little Ironies," "The Fiddler of the Reels," "Old Audrey's Experiences as a Musician," "Absent-mindedness in a Parish Choir"—humorous little stories of a certain fiddler who falls asleep during service and, suddenly awakened, attacks, instead of the expected anthem, the dance he played at a ball the evening before. In "Tess of the d'Urbervilles" is a funny story of a fiddler who is attacked by a bull and, to pacify the beast, plays a little tune; in his extremity he bethinks him to play the anthem for Christmas; the tractable bull falls on his knees, and the quick-witted fellow takes to his heels. With a smile Hardy carefully notes the voice-quality of

his personages. That of the pitiable Darbeyfield, Tess's father, is like a chanted recitative; Tess herself has a peculiar way of pronouncing the syllable "ur"; and her mother, "who likes passionately tunes and songs," does not fail to sing olden ditties as lullabies for her little ones. The feeling for music is so deep-rooted in Hardy that Tess becomes a sort of musical village heroine. At the home of her blind and aged, wealthy relative she has to take care of the birds and teach them tunes by whistling to them (hence a most amusing scene when Tess tries to produce a note, she having forgotten how to whistle). She enjoys going to church, because of the singing. The curate's son, whom she loves, and who plays the harp, often loses himself in dreams with a piece of music in his hand, hearing unplayed melodies; listening to the far-away converse of the milkmaids, he seems to hear "an orchestra," and, when the voice of Tess mingles with the others, it sounds to him like a flute added to the ensemble.

Musical humor, tempered in Hardy by a wholesome restraint, becomes crusty and wayward in a writer so slightly musical as Wells. "Kipps" is no musician—far from it. As a child the music that pleases him consists of cheerful little noises; he would rattle with teacups, trumpet with his fist, whistle in the keys, tinkle with the tongs, tap a song with his fingers on a window-glass. Grown somewhat older, he buys him a banjo—nice decoration for a young bachelor's room. One day in a coffee-house, to play a trick on a clergyman and a lady who are conversing near by without paying him the least attention, he sets a-going one of those enormous music-boxes that simulate the noise of trumpets, of trombones, of railways, of trains, and of melodious shrapnel. And the riot of this monstrous music stirs the soul of Wells: "This music had finally the inimitable qualities of Sousa—genuine American music—Niagara Falls—whinoo! yah! hop! bang! bump!"—Kipps is left victor on the field.—But the complex soul of Wells is not satisfied, in the long run, with such caricatures; in it there still lives the ancient romantic heritage, the belief in music that is a sacred thing, soothing and comforting. And so we see, in "When the Sleeper Awakes," how men and women of a future society are dancing, transfigured, and good, and kindly, to the strains of a music as yet unheard.

Musical humor unalloyed sparkles in Jerome K. Jerome. To matters musical Jerome applies his great common-sense, and of his artlessness is born the spirit of drollery. He does not disguise his liking for "The Maiden's Prayer" and the overture to *Zampa*, and riddles with epigrams ("Tea Table Talk") the Minor Poet

who disputes with the Old Maid (who "loves Grieg so much") concerning the essence of music. On hearing the high notes of a piano he feels as if some one were treading on their tails; likewise the family concerts on Christmas Eve do not escape his wit. He even pushes coquetry so far, at the close (in his "Second Thoughts of an Idle Fellow") of his essay on the funeral marches played at the burials of marionettes, as to quote the first four measures of Gounod's *Marche funèbre d'une Marionnette*. In "The Angel and the Author" he introduces with relish a certain little Canadian maid who plays a Beethoven sonata in such a fashion that her hearers think it *The Battle of Prague*; in another place he gleefully raps those musical critics for whom nothing is ever original.

But he rejoices, above all, in the music of Germany. The narrative of his travels beyond the Rhine ("Three Men on the Bummel" and "Diary of a Pilgrimage") is replete with clever observations in the guise of caricature:

If you are within a mile of a Munich military band, and are not stone deaf, you listen to it, and do not think of much else . . . whatever you do, you have to do in unison with the band.

This observation forms a point of departure for a disquisition, beneath whose fanciful vein is concealed a keen critique of the program-music written about 1900.

We ate our soup to slow waltz time, with the result that every spoonful was cold before we got it up to our mouth. Just as the fish came, the band started a quick polka, and the consequence of that was that we had not time to pick out the bones. We gulped down white wine to the "Blacksmith's Galop," and if the tune had lasted much longer we should both have been blind drunk. With the advent of our steaks, the band struck up a selection from Wagner.

I know of no modern European composer so difficult to eat beef-steaks to, as Wagner. That we did not choke ourselves is a miracle. Wagner's orchestration is most trying to follow. We had to give up all idea of mustard. B. tried to eat a bit of bread with his steak, and got most hopelessly out of tune. I am afraid I was a little flat myself during the "Valkyries' Ride." My steak was rather underdone, and I could not work it quickly enough.

After getting outside hard beefsteak to Wagner, putting away potato salad to the garden music out of *Faust* was comparatively simple. Once or twice a slice of potato stuck in our throat during a very high note, but, on the whole, our rendering was fairly artistic.

We rattled off a sweet omelette to a symphony in G—or F, or else K; I won't be positive as to the precise letter; but it was something in the alphabet, I know,—and bolted our cheese to the ballet music of *Carmen*. After which we rolled about in agonies to all the national airs of Europe.

PSYCHOLOGY

At the same time that Humor was contending against Lyricism, there came into view a psychological current issuing from the musical fount. It seems to have taken its rise with De Quincey, with its ultimate source, in this case, too, among the German romanticists. With these, especially Tieck, De Quincey was very familiar; he also fed on the philosophy of Kant, Fichte, and Schelling. From them he borrowed the idea of passivity necessary to a listener who would fully enjoy music—passivity meaning the entire surrender of the spirit to the musical impressions. This reveals De Quincey in an unexpected light, for he was not a being compact of pure sentiment, but, on the contrary, an intellectual strategist who scrutinized and reasoned on the quality of his impressions. This revelation was all the less expected because, for him, musical sounds are frequently a source of pure delight, and, in his "Confessions," he never misses an opportunity to take note of them. Thus he mentions, for instance, the changes in tone and rhythm in the air played by the clock at his lodgings between half past 9 and 10. At another time he "hears" the silence of evening brooding over mute Nature, while, in a totally different key, the tumultuous roar of the great city is resounding in the distance. It was his habit to intoxicate himself with opium on Tuesdays or Saturdays, the days when the celebrated contralto Grassini sang in opera.

He condemns program-music, because, as a philosopher, he denies that music can express ideas, contending that they have no place in music, the sole class of ideas applicable to that art being such as are descriptive of emotions. For he was nurtured on Italian music, more especially that sung by an Italian cantatrice *pur sang*. The less one understands the language, the greater is one's susceptibility to the melody, or to the asperity of its tones.

However, this stadium is merely transitory. In the second stage of the opium-visionary's progress he discovers that music is too sensual, too gross, and that what he now craves is silence peopled with visions. As in Maupassant's case, his dreams have become purely plastic, though ushered in by music which renders the mind alert.

To this taste for analysis applied to the domain of music, George Eliot is in direct succession. True it is that her musical inspiration is not lacking in aspects now ironical, now sentimental, as with Thackeray or Dickens, but her clairvoyant passion for the tonal art teaches her what psychological resources the analysis

of musical emotion offers the novelist. In this respect the sixth chapter in "The Mill on the Floss" is a model. The character of the heroine of the tale, Maggie, is in great part set forth by her musical reactions. This amatory unfortunate has a fever-fit on hearing good music sung by a fine bass voice. Later she experiences a new feeling of pure delight in the sweetness of the air, the odors of the garden, the fullness of music, and reveries on the water's edge. What pleasure it gives her to sit down alone at the piano, to pick out the tunes she heard the evening before, and to repeat them again and again until she discovers how to play them passionately! The simple consonance of octaves is ravishing for Maggie, and she often takes up a book of études rather than a melody in order that she may savor more intensely, in an abstract form, the most primitive sensation of the intervals. Her impressionability to the supreme excitation of music is a form of impassioned sensitiveness that lies at the very root of her temperament. These, we must insist, are not the vague commonplaces of musical impotence, of that romantic sensibility which forms the staple of everyday love-stories, but are the outcome of a fruitful analysis.

This psychological realism is supplemented, in other novels, by a social realism; the importance of primitive musical thought in the life of peasant-folk could not be misconstrued by George Eliot. Hence such fiddler-types as that of Solomon in "Silas Marner," who, once he has begun a piece, refuses to interrupt it for any cause whatsoever, and, while playing, salutes the honored company, whom he respects—though less than his music. His hearers listen with pleasure, for his art awakens many recollections. "Thanks, Solomon, thanks," says Mr. Lammeter when the violin stops. "It is *Over the hills and far away*, isn't it?" And the Squire is delighted when his favorite air, *The Flaxen-haired Ploughboy*, is played.—Simple souls, like those of Dolly and her little son who sings a Christmas song; "There's nothing to be compared with *Hark, the angels sing*; and guess what it is in the church, Mr. Marner, with the bassoon and the voices!"

This same rural tradition finds another enthusiastic continuator in Thomas Hardy, who emphasizes the humoristic aspect. But Hardy himself is not indifferent to a certain musical psychology quite peculiar to him; this it is that he lends to inanimate things whose reticences and whose language he would have us understand. The musical experiences of Jude the Obscure are more conventional. This poor mason, who is deserted by his wife, and who wants to be a clergyman, learns to play the harmonium

and to sing. One day, when he feels more discouraged than usual, he happens to hear a sacred song, *The Foot of the Cross*, which strikes him as a strangely moving composition; and his honest soul, more than naïve, deduces the character of the composer from that of the song. He pays him a visit; but hardly has he opened his mouth, when the musician flies into a rage over music with which a man can't earn his living, and which, for this reason, he has decided to give up entirely. And our good Jude retires clumsily, robbed of this latest illusion.

With George Meredith a pseudo-mathematical analysis of the emotions excludes the maternal benevolence of George Eliot and the tender amusement of Hardy. It becomes dry, satirical, and occasionally formal, stilted. A scene of musical flirtation, in "The Ordeal of Richard Feverel," clearly marks this change. When he lets his characters sing, their songs will be parodistic, like the ballad *Ripton and Richard* sung by Adrian. He proceeds similarly in the musical scenes of "Sandra Belloni" and "Vittoria." Comparisons of an arid exactitude multiply under his pen. "The Egoist" presents quite remarkable ones. But musical sentiment is visibly foreign to Meredith; how, then, does it happen that he nevertheless does not disdain it as a material of art? It happens because—as for all writers in all literatures since the appearance of Wagner—it would be bad form, commission of *lèse-culture*, as it were, not to concern oneself about music. It was impossible that the Wagnerian scourge should leave the writers unresponsive. In 1855 the press, wholly devoted to Mendelssohn, who had so long oppressed English music, heaped insults on Wagner, the *Times* and the *Musical World* leading the dance with the habitual invectives—"chaos," "cacophony," and the like. In 1877 the contest is renewed with fury, and caricatures swarm in the *Musical World*, *Vanity Fair*, the *Hornet*, etc. But Wagner has his partisans: Swinburne openly acclaims him by collaborating on the *Revue Wagnérienne*. And since then a plentiful crop has sprung up, whereof the worser fruits have the better of it. Beside the fine Bayreuth romances of George Moore ("Evelyn Innes," "Sister Theresa") abound lacklustre tales which are not yet quite out of fashion. "The Appassionata" of Elsa d'Esterre-Keeling restates the oft-stated problem of a genial musician forced to choose between his art and his love. Vachell, in "The Other Side," shows us a musical genius harried by the temptations of the world; at the zenith of his fame, he succumbs; rescued at last, he views the world with new eyes—but too late. By Jessie Fothergill we have the story of "The First Violin" in a Rhenish university town;

and again, in "The Halo," by Baroness von Hutten, the story of an irresistible violinist, and, in "The Lordship of Love," the story of a cancatrice. "The Lost Iphigenia," by G. and A. Castle, has for hero a German composer. One notes accumulating "Key-notes," "Symphonies," "Fantasias," "Discords." Hugh Conway unveils "The Secret of the Stradivarius," and pens "The Bandman's Story." Barry Pain, in his "New Gulliver," tells the tale of a piano-tuner. Eric Mackay publishes the "Love Letters of a Violinist," and "Gladys the Singer." Marie Corelli, in "A Romance of Two Worlds," to support her thesis of the so-called "electrical Christianity," chooses a musician, a high-strung lady-composer, who surrenders herself to the mysterious influence of an Italian painter. Benson, in "Dodo," presents in less pretentious style a young female composer who is particularly successful in writing scherzos. "An Opera and Lady Grasmere," by Kimross, takes as a subject for analysis a composer who, weary of writing, longs to live, and, in the ensuing struggle—which is, after all, a mere disputation between Art and Life—is reconquered by Art; the whole intertwined with a fantastic story about a stolen opera, together with enthusiastic effusions in praise of *Faust* and *Siegfried*. And the cutting irony of Max Beerbohm has free course, in "Zuleika Dobson," to wreak itself on the Oxford student who plays the piano like Chopin, with such verisimilitude that his lady-friend fancies she is George Sand; or in roguishly insinuating that, to celebrate the glories of the Oxford boat-races, all the Wagnerian orchestras of Europe, reinforced by those of Strauss, would be required.¹

So it is no matter for surprise that, like Meredith, other souls of meagre musical endowment, such as Wells or Galsworthy, feel obliged to accommodate the psychology of their heroes to this newly-devised relish. Wells, who won his wager to write the history of civilization entire without taking art into account and

¹The American authors are influenced in their turn—Marion Crawford with "Soprano," "Primadonna," "A Roman Singer," "The Diva's Ruby"; William Dean Howells with "The Magic of a Voice"; Gertrude Atherton with "The Bell in the Fog" and, especially, "Tower of Ivory." This Munich romance is an avowed commentary on the works of Wagner; the characters are a lyric singer, Brünnhilde, the "definitive" Isolde; a kingly musician; a young English diplomat, a melomaniac. All Wagner's works are analyzed, and *Tristan* forms the subject of an entire dithyrambic chapter. The authoress adopts as her own the well-known theory according to which Wagner has exhausted all the resources of his system, leaving to his disciples nothing but dust and ashes, and that only a genius totally dissimilar can regenerate music (but Strauss will not be this genius).—In the second volume of the romance the singer falls in love because she incarnates Isolde, and the more impassioned she is, the better she sings her rôle. Another chapter is devoted to an analysis of *Götterdämmerung*. The young diplomat (the masculine hero) is the ordinary "leading gentleman" of this kind of novel; he knows nothing of musical technique, but his soul thrills and vibrates.

without whispering a word about music, cannot help taking his Anna Veronica to the second act of *Tristan* as a way to explain the inception of her amorous perturbation. "Tono-Bungay" is the story of a petty employee who becomes an initiate into musical art—real art-music—through a fragmentary audition of the Ninth Symphony. This petty employee shortly falls in love, and his beloved plays him, with occasional wrong notes, the air of the Shepherd in *Tristan*. Finally, a wealthy and polished parvenu, he purchases a pianola, and loftily remarks that he plays Beethoven when he desires to clear his brain for work—sometimes Chopin, or others, but Beethoven above all. His sweetheart makes him play, besides, the Second Concerto by Brahms (Op. 58) and the Kreutzer Sonata, and Tono asks himself in astonishment how Tolstoi could find it so debauched and poisonous.—This sudden competency in matters musical strikes the author himself, and later, in "Mr. Britling," he does not shrink from an orchestral comparison that nearly reaches the limit.

Galsworthy accompanies Wells along this new path with somewhat more of precision in details. "The Patrician" describes the pallid, silent throng at a hearing of the Seventh Symphony. In "Beyond" a very independent young woman of an "artistic" temperament marries a violinist and finds pleasure in playing MacDowell and Ravel. The old conservative Jolyon, in "A Man of Property," expresses concerning Wagner the opinions conventionally ascribed to his kind—he deplors the ruin of grand opera, the ruin of melody, the ruin of the voices. At the same time the youthful Frances composes "songs and waltzes," whereof two original measures are quoted in the text. The two lovers in "The Dark Flower" are brought together by music, and the young man's jealousy is excited by a German violinist who worms himself into their intimacy. Still, despite a precision of notation always strictly within the bounds of realism, Galsworthy is lacking in profundity as a musician. In "Fraternity" he makes a strange misuse of the hand-organ, and of such distant music as accompanies (in a certain class of literature) psychological agitation. He presents as a novelty a young pianist who owes his success to his Italianized patronimic; and in certain comparisons he even harks back to the most infelicitous romanticism.

Of such infelicities Arnold Bennett is never guilty. A well-informed musician (and, when he will, a critic), he attempts to motivate by means of carefully chosen instances the influence of music on the instrumental development of his hero. He also seeks to determine the effect of this influence on the genesis of

love. In "Sacred and Profane Love" he presents a young girl who weeps when playing the *Fantaisie* of Chopin; soon "her soul is raptured" with a great pianist in the complete works of the same musician, and, more especially, the first Ballades, the Fifteenth Prelude in D minor, then the Thirteenth, in F major. Then she pays a visit to the great pianist in his hotel room, plays with him a four-hand arrangement of the second act of *Tristan* (very aptly), and for a finale goes into his bedroom—thus establishing the musical mechanism of "the fall." (A mechanism again set in motion in *Le Ménage Clayhanger*—in this latter case, thanks to Dvořák.) Buried by this avalanche of love in music, how can one fail to be indulgent to the discreet Sherlock Holmes, who disdains love and enjoys music for itself. For Watson refers in the story "Red-haired Men" to a friend who was an enthusiastic musician, and not simply a very capable performer, but a composer of quite unusual merit. A touching tribute to music, crowning an age of musical infiltration into English psychology:—Sherlock Holmes cannot, in the eyes of his spiritual father, be a complete man, unless to the detective is conjoined the composer.

Musical lyricism, musical humor, musical psychology—these are but three aspects of the new resources utilized by modern English literature. But it would require a book—and a large book—to mention and define all the modalities of these acquisitions. One would have to take note of the contributions made by those who may be described as the "musical esthetes," and more particularly the pre-Raphaelites, with Rossetti:

The hours of love fulfill the echoing space
With sweet confederate music favourable—

and celebrating the voice of love:

Your voice is not on the air:
Yet, love, I can hear your voice,
A music sweet to declare
The truth of your steadfast choice.
O love, how sweet is your voice.

A lyricism which likewise finds critical expression in Ruskin and Walter Pater; the former tracing the rôle of music in the contemplation of a work of architecture ("The Seven Lamps of Architecture," 1880), the latter discovering in music the most perfect type of art because it expresses itself alone. From this is derived directly a large part of Oscar Wilde's esthetics; he converts to his use and profit, in divers passages in "Intentions," the views of Pater and Ruskin (with this reservation—that the cult of Wilde

is applied by preference to the forms, and that, in the last analysis, he favors poetry above music,¹ for the reason that poetry is the more plastic). And with Wilde's name we must couple that of Vernon Lee, whose esthetic essays ("Hortus Vitæ," "Limbo," etc.) appeal to all the arts, and principally to music, whose incarnation she sees in Mozart. Thus the English writers arrive little by little at the discussion of music according to their personal ideas. They know it, they comprehend it, certain of them even possess its technique.

This penchant for pouncing upon music in its own domain had already come to light in rather curious fashion toward the mid-point of the century, in pure lyricism, with Robert Browning. Contemporaneously with George Eliot in the novel, Browning, who was well-grounded in the history of music, attempted to carry over into poetry that musical precision which alone can lend value to this recent inspiration. In his poem "A Toccata Galuppi's" he evokes an epoch entire on hearing a piece of music;² the poet interrogates the Thirds, the Sixths, the Sevenths:

What? Those lesser thirds so plaintive, sixths diminished, sigh on sigh
Told them something? Those suspensions, those solutions—"Must we die?"
Those commiserating sevenths: "Life might last! We can but try!"

Decisive is the progress beyond purely verbal romanticism. But this latter does not let itself be downed so easily; the conventional Ossianic "harpist" reappears in "Saul"; the thematic "guitarist" plays the leading rôle in the "Serenade at the Villa" and "One Day of Love." At the same time Browning conceives a form of lyric drama which invokes the aid of music; in "Pippa Passes" (1841) he introduces choruses, together with songs sung by Sebald and Pippa.

In the novel, these "technical" velleities suddenly take on a broader scope, thanks to Wagnerism. "Evelyn Jones" and "Sister Teresa" clearly exhibit how the psychological musical novel may be revived by the aid of exact data borrowed from the history of music—a strictly naturalistic process in the sense that, having assumed as his mission the study of some special *milieu*, the author has reflected on the evolution of music, has moulded his characters in accord with the varieties of music which charm them, and has taken sides in the Wagnerian quarrel. It can be said that in these

¹In "The Picture of Dorian Gray."

²M. Charles van den Borren has set forth in the *Musical Times* for May, 1923, certain hypotheses touching the identity of this piece of Galuppi's to which Browning alludes.

novels George Moore never appears to greater advantage as a writer than when he transforms himself into a musical critic.¹ At least, he contents himself with criticism, and does not venture into composition.

Still others appear who represent in England the writer-composer type so often met with in Germany during the last three centuries.

Samuel Butler, like Hoffmann, stands out as a full-fledged artist, equally at home in letters, in the fine-arts, and in music. In 1848, at the age of fifteen, he discovers the genius of Händel, and thenceforward seriously studies his music, as well as that of Beethoven, Bach, and Schubert; not without putting forth, during this same period, his first essays as a writer and painter; thus early he combines music and literature in his satirical essay "Musical Banks," something to be resumed later in "Erewhon" (1865). Toward 1880 he became wholly absorbed in musical composition. He composed a minuet, and played it to his friend H. F. Jones (1883) to convince him that one could write light pieces of music in Händel's style; then the two friends collaborated on a collection of minuets, gavottes and fugues for piano (it was published in 1885). After this Butler, this time alone, composed a burlesque cantata, *Narcissus* (1888), still in the style of Händel. In 1890 he began a serious study of counterpoint, and thereafter worked on a dramatic oratorio, *Ulysses*, with Jones, who published it after Butler's death (1904). In his musical endowment, Butler represents the spirit of England bowed under the yoke of Händel: apart from Händel, salvation was none. And critics were not wanting to blame him for his mental bias.

Alongside of Butler appears John Millington Synge, the Irish playwright, an excellent player who just failed of becoming a virtuoso. There is a legend to the effect that the name Synge comes from "sing," and was a sobriquet applied by Henry VIII to one John Millington, a canon of the Chapel Royal and a singer with an admirable voice. Our J. M. Synge, in that case, inherited his talent. As a child he showed special aptitude for music, quickly learned to play the violin and piano, and in 1891 won a scholarship for harmony and counterpoint in the Royal Irish Academy of Music. During the whole of 1894 he pursued his musical studies, but gave them up on account of excessive nervousness which prevented him from playing in public; embracing, instead, a literary career.

¹In this connection one ought to study Bernard Shaw's "The Perfect Wagnerite," and the manifold aspects of musical inspiration in all the works of this dramaturge.

Similarly, Lady Ethel Mary Smith, after a long musical career, exhibited talent as a writer in "Impressions that Remained" and "Streaks of Memory." Moreover, she herself had previously written the books of her three operas.

But a searching study of this evolution in English literature would require voluminous disquisitions; it must suffice, in closing this brief survey, to set down what appear to be the "musical themes" most assiduously cultivated by and familiar to the British mind.

Among these the most striking is, unquestionably, the *Händelian theme*. It is also one of those most early implanted in the English soul—and this for the additional reason that, at the outset, it encountered great difficulty in imposing its authority. In Händel's time English taste was inimical to operas sung from beginning to end. Addison, in "The Spectator," voiced this national repugnance; he contended both against the Italian invasion and the tendency of Lully's following for music-painting; while rallying the snobbishness of a section of the public, he espoused the cause of national English opera as opposed to Italian opera—did not he himself write the libretto of *Rosamunde* (1709) for the insipid musician Clayton? As everybody knows, *The Beggar's Opera* marks the effective reaction against Italian opera—a spontaneous, nation-wide reaction brilliantly supported by Pope in the "Dunciad" and by Swift in "Gulliver's Travels," musical folly not being a thing unknown on the island of Laputa. In this storm-laden atmosphere, Händel could not avoid inflaming the passions of the scribes, the fact that he himself was in close communion with many of them making matters only worse. During the three years that he spent in Piccadilly he cultivated the society of Pope and Swift, and somewhat later set to music Dryden's *Ode to St. Cecilia*, after the unfortunate attempts of Clayton and B. Marcellio. Addison took him to task for his fondness for noise, but Pope compared him to Briareus. In 1735 an anonymous poem in the "Grubstreet Journal" enthusiastically lauded his organ-concerts; but Sheridan revived for his depreciation the old grievances of Addison. As Händel's influence increased, his music gained popularity, because it was drawn from national, provincial sources. To this the novels of the period bear witness; all may read, in "Tom Jones," how widely this music was known in the country, even among "squires" whose understanding of matters artistic was of the dullest. Thenceforward the Händelian theme will be found imbedded in literature, no more to depart. It forms a part of the indigenous literary heritage. No writer, however

insignificant, but will deem himself in honor bound to pay a tribute to this musician. Osborne, in his novel "Some Notes in the Key of A," employs a motive from *The Messiah* (with a musical citation in the text) as the *primum mobile* of the action. Mrs. Emma Marshall, in her interminable gallery of novels on the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, introduces a "Master of the Musicians" with the subtitle "A Story of Händel's Days." With Samuel Butler, admiration for Händel borders on fanaticism; and Lord Douglas, in his autobiography, "Oscar Wilde and I," makes note of the cult for Händel professed by Russel, the intimate friend of Walter Pater.

Moreover, the character of Händel's oratorios happened to be in accord with the religious and moralizing tendency of the English novel. So one may perceive a parallel development in the predilection of writers for ecclesiastical vocal music—for canticles and anthems. The rôle of these latter becomes the leading one in the moral and religious novels of Miss Charlotte Yonge; the same influence is felt in Wilkie Collins, Charles Read, and Thomas Hughes. George Eliot presents Adam Bede singing, while at work, a pious song. Mrs. Humphrey Ward describes, in "The Channings," a precentorship in a small town and the anthem selected for the office—an anthem taken from the Psalms of David and beginning with a solo *con tremolo*. Hornung himself describes the hero of "A Bride from the Bush" as unable to appreciate the majesty of the anthems, and he pities him sincerely for it.

Finally, there is a third theme, also of importance—that of musical folk-lore and the popular song. We know how greatly the lyric poems of Burns are indebted to them, and what effects Walter Scott gains from them in his novels. The Scotch, above all, draw nourishment from them; the novels of William Black are replete with them, and may be accepted as models of this genre. His "Macleod of Dare" is in all essentials the apotheosis of Scottish songs and Gaelic ballads. Such are the lays which inspire love in Macleod, a rough young Highland laddie, for in his family (as he reverently observes) there have been bards who composed melodies still sung by the mountain folk. It is the same with Stevenson, whose fondness for the Scotch peasantry prompts him to exhibit them playing the bagpipe. In "Kidnapped," Alan Breck Stewart is presented as a typical poet-musician, whose songs rapidly become popular, and who is a rival on the hornpipe to Robin, the son of Rob Roy; Robin can repeat after a single hearing all the tunes that Alan sings him, even embroidering them with original variations. A like sense for folk-music is manifested by

Catriona, who instantly repeats an air she has just heard, adding an intricate accompaniment and even words of her own devising. Thomas Hardy pursues, with humorous tenderness and unwearied insistence, the love-theme in peasant music. Farmer Oak, in "Far from the Madding Crowd," plays the flute with Arcadian sweetness, and treats the enchanted ears of the countryfolk to the strains of *Dame Durden*. These peasants are susceptible to the inflexions of feminine voices, and when such a voice pleases them they seek to hear it often—"to get more of music." Hardy also takes note of their manner of singing and of their reactions to music; his novels afford one of the most precise and complete pictures of the passion for music in contemporary peasant souls.

This sympathetic inquisitiveness concerning folk-song is to-day so wide-spread among wielders of the pen, that it has overtaken a writer so slightly gifted as a musician as Kipling. True, the music he prefers he generally finds in violent noises, in the heavy tread of the sentinel ("There were twenty paces *crescendo*, a pause, and then twenty *diminuendo*," he says in "Black Jack"), in the rattle of the rifles ("Oh! 'twas music when that pin rowled on the flure"—*ibid.*), and in the drum of little Fapin in "Fore and Aft." So he takes no interest in songs except the rude ditties roared by Terence Mulvaney and Ortheris, or by the miners—"The Song of the Rock; the terrible, slow, swinging melody with the muttered chorus."—In another story one sees four young men, cast away in a lonely place, singing Scottish melodies; and the flutes of Mowgli recall ancestral airs to make the wolves dance before his fiancée.

These musical themes, therefore, so powerful in their simplicity, display themselves as one of the most solid and fruitful portions of Britain's intellectual patrimony.

(Translated by Theodore Baker)

A COLOSSAL EXPERIMENT IN "JUST INTONATION"

By EDWIN HALL PIERCE

THAT the beauty and purity of the finest unaccompanied choral song arises in no small measure from the singers instinctively forming their chords according to "just" rather than "tempered" intonation, is a well-recognized fact. The same thing is true, though probably only during sustained chords, with the best string-quartets. Efforts have been made from time to time to add the means for attaining this beauty, to organs and harmoniums, but owing to the complexity of construction, the enormously increased cost and the practical difficulties of performance on such instruments, they have amounted to nothing more than interesting musical curiosities. Nevertheless, the idea still continues to hover before the minds of not a few musicians and organ-builders, as a sort of *ignis fatuus*, leading them on into a morass of futile effort, or if not that, to a secret dissatisfaction with the now universally accepted system of "equal temperament."

The writer has several times met with individuals who were quite sure the problem might be satisfactorily solved, if only these two conditions were supplied:—money sufficient for the undertaking and players who were able and willing to spend the time to master the technic of the new instruments. As a matter of fact, those very conditions *were* supplied, and the thing *was* done, nearly twenty years ago, with results highly instructive, though scarcely satisfactory to those concerned. The story may now be told: at the time the undertaking was in progress, the musicians employed were constrained to a certain reticence for reasons of policy; the electricians and mechanical engineers concerned did not have sufficient understanding of music to have explained it from a musician's point of view; the inventor himself—Dr. Thaddeus Cahill, though no mean musicologist, was more intent on impressing the public with other remarkable features of his invention than on undertaking the exceedingly difficult task of explaining in a popular way his very ingenious solution of the problem of just intonation.

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Dr. Cahill's instrument was called the "Telharmonium," though he confided to the writer that he himself preferred to call

it an "Electric Music Plant." In applying for patents he met with the very unusual experience of finding absolutely nothing in the same line before him, for the tones were produced on a wholly new principle. Briefly stated, musical tone was produced by passing the current from an alternating-current dynamo (of special construction) into a telephone receiver to which was attached an amplifying horn. In order to produce chords, and in fact before that to build up the desired tone-quality, two or more currents were passed simultaneously into a transformer, from which issued one compound secondary current. The relative strength of the currents was controlled at certain points by impedance-coils and at other points by rheostats of peculiar construction. I pass over the mechanical and electrical details as lightly as possible, as this article is concerned with the strictly musical point of view, especially as regards the subject of intonation.

An ordinary alternating-current dynamo of the type used for electric lighting produces a current whose vibrations could generate a musical tone somewhere near the pitch of a 'Cello C-string, but of a rough and impure quality, owing to the fact that it contains an element of undesirable subsidiary vibrations. In order to become suitable for musical purposes, a dynamo had to be devised which would produce what is called a pure "*sine wave*," and as one dynamo was needed for each separate pitch, it must needs be of simple construction. This problem alone occupied Dr. Cahill for nearly twelve years. At the time I made his acquaintance he had just solved it successfully, and was working out the matter of a system of intonation, together with a keyboard suitable for the same. It was some three or four years later when the instrument was placed for exhibition in New York, in a building opposite the Metropolitan Opera House, and by that time it is probable that something over \$200,000 had been spent on it. To those financially concerned, the expense seemed justified by the fact that whatever music was performed on it could be heard not merely at the "central station" but at hundreds of other places, even at many miles distant, connected by wire, and this without any diminution in power or deterioration in quality. The proposition was, to give daily concerts and take on numerous "subscribers." This surprising feature proved wholly successful and practical—failure came from other causes which we shall mention later.

A system of tuning once determined on, the practical application of it to such an instrument was a matter to be solved once for all by the mechanical and electrical engineer—in this case,

the inventor himself. Given two rotor-inductors on the same shaft, one having eight and another sixteen teeth, the latter would produce a tone exactly an octave above the former; one of twelve teeth would give the perfect fifth, etc., etc. Eight shafts were connected together by carefully-cut gears in such a manner that one shaft gave C and the notes of its common chord through all the octaves, the next G, the next D, the next A, etc. Besides the notes of its common chord there was also the *harmonic seventh*—an internal not found in the tempered scale. Theoretically, there should have been *twelve* shafts, but the instrument was never brought to entire completion, hence some keys had to be avoided in performance, though (by allowing some small licences in intonation) a complete chromatic scale was possible. The shafts were designed to be driven at a certain uniform speed: if they ran too fast, the whole instrument would be slightly above standard pitch; if too slow (as really was often the case) the whole would be below pitch, but in all cases it would be *absolutely in tune with itself*, with a perfection unattainable by the most skillful tuners in the world!

Diverse qualities of tone were produced at the will of the player, through combining the different "partial tones" in various proportions, which were ascertained though patient experiment in practice; skill in the same becoming part of the technical equipment of the player. For instance, we soon learned that the Flute tone is very nearly a simple one; the Clarinet tone has its "third partial" very prominent; the Oboe tone has upper partials rather strong in proportion to the ground tone or "first partial," etc., etc. The Violin tone, which really is the most important of all, we never succeeded in hitting to perfection, as it is very complex and elusive, though we attained a fair approximation to string-tone in the register of the upper strings of the 'Cello.

It became the present writer's task to devise a practical system of fingering on the new keyboard, which had 36 keys to the octave, and also to solve the problem of correctly indicating in some simple way the manner in which music was to be rendered in just intonation, in order that the several new players whom he taught should be able to use the keyboard properly. He decided to consider ordinary musical notation as representing the "equal temperament," and to add special signs to indicate those modifications which were needful to bring about "just intonation." As is well known to piano and organ tuners, in the tempered scale all major thirds are (and must be) too sharp; all perfect fifths too flat. The note A, for instance, when it forms the third of the

triad of F major, is too sharp in the tempered scale, but when it forms the fifth of the triad of D major, is too flat, in the tempered scale. The error in the perfect fifth, however, is very slight, and in accordance with the inventor's design, it was ignored for the sake of simplicity, and attention directed more to the problem of the "third." (This decision was not arrived at arbitrarily: Dr. Cahill built *another*, but somewhat smaller instrument of the same sort in which provision existed for absolutely perfect fifths as well as thirds, and the improvement in the effect of chords was so slight as to be noticeable only with the most attentive and minute comparison.)

My first efforts, then, were with a hymn-tune of "chorale" character: I went through it marking every "third of a major chord" with a grave accent, to indicate that it was to be slightly lowered. With minor chords, I lowered the "first" and "fifth," letting the "third" stand. On the very ingeniously contrived keyboard, it was perfectly possible to follow these indications without undue difficulty. Soon after that I transcribed for this instrument the slow movement from Beethoven's Trio in C major for Two Oboes and Cor Anglais, paying the same careful attention to the subject of intonation. This proved to be one of the most beautiful and effective pieces ever played on the new instrument, and became part of our standard repertoire.

Dr. Cahill, in planning the construction of this instrument, had made provision for "harmonic sevenths." For instance, the chord of the dominant seventh might be played in any one of three ways:—

1. In equal temperament.
2. With the third in "just intonation."
3. With the third in just intonation, and the seventh a true harmonic seventh; viz., considerably flatter than in the tempered scale.

In practice, we found the second way the most desirable; the third way gave such a *very* smooth-sounding chord of the seventh that it actually seemed to demand no resolution: it was rather flavorless. Apropos of this, I soon discovered the remarkable fact that the harmonic seventh might be added, in many cases, to a final tonic chord (in major) without detracting from the proper feeling of the close. It happened that I communicated this fact to Mr. Daniel Gregory Mason, and he was eager to see it illustrated, but when I attempted to exhibit it for him, the effect did not tally with my description, and I naturally felt much mortified as well as puzzled. After he had gone, I made a number of experiments to discover the reason, and at last learned that in

order for the harmonic seventh to blend in this self-effacing way, the quality of tone must be a comparatively simple one—a flute tone, for instance, rather than a string or reed tone. Also, the seventh must appear high up in the tonal mass of harmony.

The younger players whom I taught, some of whom acquired a technic on the instrument superior to my own, at first followed out my instructions in regard to intonation, but as time went on they began to realize (as in fact I did myself) that there is a spirit in modern music which not only does not demand just intonation, but actually would suffer from its use, consequently they relapsed more and more into the modern tempered scale, as far as the instrument allowed opportunity. This perversion of the inventor's intentions gave him great offense and disappointment, but he misjudged the players: it was not mere negligence which influenced their action, but actual artistic necessity. The just intonation is wonderfully beautiful for music of a calm and sustained character which does not contain any remote modulations, but music of a spirited character becomes tame and uninteresting. In remote modulations, too, the application of just intonation becomes both theoretically and practically embarrassing. One may illustrate the first point by a comparison: if you were asked whether you preferred pure or impure water for drinking, you would naturally say "pure," yet *chemically pure* water (i.e., distilled water) is a most insipid and unsatisfactory drink. Chords in mathematically just intonation are like distilled water: those in a well-tuned equal temperament are like good, wholesome, cold spring-water.

The matter extends even further than merely to the difference between systems of tuning. Octaves are the only interval not "tempered." Every violinist knows how difficult it is to play octaves in double-stopping perfectly in tune, and how miserable they sound if out of tune: he would naturally imagine that an octave the tuning of which was *absolutely* perfect—not even an error of the millionth-part of a tone—would be ideal. Well, on this instrument we actually had such octaves, and what was the effect? They did not sound like octaves at all! The upper note merely added brilliancy to the total tone-quality of the lower one, so that there were no longer two voices. (This was in case the tone-color was identical, of course.)

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Several important deductions may be drawn from this very elaborate and expensive experiment—for that, in fact, was what

it rightly amounted to. First; that it is possible to construct an instrument which will give just intonation, with a keyboard not too elaborate for a diligent musician to master. Second; that it is nevertheless futile and unnecessary to do so, because the whole of modern music is written in the idiom of the tempered scale. Third; that the only kind of music in which the just intonation is a great and undeniable charm is Church music, *a cappella*, particularly that in the style of Palestrina, and this does not demand or indeed allow the employment of any instrumental aid. Fourth; and finally, we might as well regard the question of intonation as closed, with a verdict in favor of the conventional tempered scale, except for vocal music *a cappella*.

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This article properly ends here, yet I believe that it will better satisfy the reader if a few words be added explaining the reasons for the ultimate failure of this wonderful, and in many respects beautiful, instrument. It was not because of any error in judgment in the matter of a system of tuning, for the instrument offered opportunities for the use of the tempered scale, and in fact (as we have narrated) came to be so treated, but it had several weaknesses, which I will enumerate.

First; owing to financial considerations, it was put into actual practical use before it was sufficiently perfected, and also before any of the players, notwithstanding the greatest zeal and diligence, had been able to conquer all its technical difficulties.

Second; under these conditions, the players were obliged to render a varied daily program to a most exacting public, with scarcely any opportunity for sufficient undisturbed practice. Quality naturally suffered.

Third; in order to support the great expense of the undertaking, it was necessary to have a very numerous body of subscribers: patronage was at the first prompt and encouraging, but vexatious delays were met with in running the necessary wires in various directions, owing to both mechanical and legal difficulties, and many lost interest and cancelled their orders. Consequently only a small percentage of the hoped-for income became available, and the enterprise finally underwent financial failure.

In regard to the instrument not being in all respects perfected, the following were the most outstanding defects:—First; owing to having but eight of the twelve "shafts" originally intended by the maker, there were four major keys (with their relative minors)

in which it was impossible to play. Although this left still a wide range of modulation available, any musician will realize that it constituted a very serious drawback.

Second; owing to certain electrical complications too technical to explain here, the instrument was not fitted to the rendering of massive harmony. It was at its best in the use of two-voice and three-voice harmony, which is, of course, not in accordance with the genius of modern music. If, to a chord of three voices, another voice or two was added, the total strength of the chord became not greater, but *less* than before—a most vexatious and anomalous state of affairs.

Third; owing to certain electrical conditions, when a staccato touch was used, the staccato effect was apt to result in an exaggerated caricature, resembling blows from a tack-hammer. This defect the inventor succeeded in overcoming by a very ingenious device later on, but not until many hearers had become prejudiced against the instrument.

Fourth; although it was possible to produce many beautiful and varied tone-colors, it was impossible to use more than any *two* of them at once. This limited the opportunity for simulating orchestral effects.

Fifth; the well-known "growling" effect of chords closely grouped in the bass was greatly *exaggerated* in this instrument, so that harmonies which would have been perfectly agreeable for the piano, organ or string quartet, sometimes needed to be completely redistributed for this instrument. This would not have been an insurmountable obstacle, but was a matter which properly demanded longer specialized study than our working conditions permitted.

Lastly, in spite of the variety of tone-color available, the instrument itself had its own special character which pervaded everything, and which in time grew highly irritating to the nerves. All the musical staff agreed in admitting this to each other, though careful not to express their views to the public, nor to members of the company. Personally, I am positive that subscribers would have soon tired of it for this very reason, as people once tired of the "glass harmonica" which was a lively fad in the days of Benjamin Franklin, but which exhibited this same unfortunate characteristic.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF SRIABIN

By HERBERT ANTCLIFFE

RUSSIAN music has during the last generation played a part in the world of music generally that is comparable with that played by German music in the nineteenth century, English music in the fifteenth, or Italian music in the sixteenth. It has this distinction among these and other schools that its manifestations are so varied, and often so opposed to one another, as to give an entirely different significance to the work of every one of its prominent composers, whether he be the leader of a school or not. The very fluctuations in the favour of the populace as well as of musical circles is a sign of this. Outside Russia first Tchaikovski, then Rimsky-Korsakoff, then Glinka and Mussorgsky, and latterly Scriabin, who has been followed by Stravinsky and Medtner, have been regarded as representative of their country. Even the man in the street sees some striking differences between the works of these various composers, and led partly by his own instinct and partly by the fashion among musical *cognoscenti* he is attracted to one or other of them, but rarely to more than one at a time.

In the case of Scriabin, a composer who, had he been living to-day, would not yet be among the elders, it is too soon to make any serious attempt to decide his ultimate position, but the work of every composer has a significance in its own day which is not always realised. With regard to that of Scriabin there is much to be admitted of the arguments of those who claim him as one of the few on high Olympus because of the direct appeal to the larger public of even his most elaborate and modernist as well as his most subtle works. Practically always, it is pointed out, it is the person with some knowledge of musical æsthetics who rejects the genius because the methods of that genius do not agree with those of his predecessors or contemporaries. The music of Scriabin offends the listener whose small or great technical knowledge makes him analyse rather than feel the music. It delights the crowd which knows not how to analyse but which does feel its deep impelling emotion.

Apart from this aspect, which provides scope for much very interesting argument, one of the surest signs of the individuality

and of the great significance of his work, is the constant stream of comparison with that of the great and popular composers of the past. "A modern Chopin" was the title given to him by most of his admirers a few years ago. Schubert was another with whom many others liked to compare him, the most obvious reasons for this being his strong feeling for instrumental colour and his early death. *En passant*, also, it is well to notice that he was unquestionably very susceptible to the influence of his teachers, Tanieff, Safonoff and Arensky; to that of his association with Belaieff, the most perfect of all publishers and patrons of art; and of his passionate love of Nature in her noblest and grandest aspects.

What his opponents think of him in the question of these comparisons may be seen by the remarks of a critic of some standing expressed in a paper he read before the Musical Association of London a few years ago:

Mutatis mutandis (he says, after speaking of Gounod) it is not difficult to detect his direct successor in Scriabin, a composer whom the prevalent belief in the infallibility of titles and analytical programmes has hitherto prevented from being seen in a sufficiently clear and critical light. We have been told a great deal about the religiosity of his intentions and many of us have taken but little trouble to ascertain by critical inspection whether they were ever fulfilled in purely musical terms. No one seems to have reflected that true religious music needs no metaphysical, theological or even theosophical explanations, that the most mystical and ecstatic utterances of Palestrina, of Bach and of Beethoven are spiritually self-revealing. But with the aid of credulity and analytical programmes many things otherwise impossible can be brought about, and modern audiences have eclipsed the feat of Sir Thomas Browne, when he saw 'an hieroglyphical and shadowed lesson of the whole world' in 'that vulgar tavern music which makes one man merry, another mad,' by discerning revelations of divine love in Gounod, and religious fervour in Scriabin. The hectic erethisms of this latter composer, his morbid striving after stronger and ever stronger sensations and his frequent wallowing in what one might term the very mire of hysterical emotions, if they are comparable with anything remotely connected with religion, can only be likened to the most extravagant and unbalanced excesses of a Salvationist prayer-meeting. The affinity of Scriabin and Gounod is apparent also in the musical means by which they express themselves. In both, one perceives the same sugared clamminess in the harmonic tissue of their music, the same lack of any sense of balance and restraint, and the same monotony of musical outline which is its inevitable result.

One need not trouble very much about a criticism of this type when one remembers that so far from being self-revealing the "most mystic and ecstatic utterances of Palestrina and Bach" depend largely upon their association with the words of the Bible or the Liturgy, while the one thing that strikes the majority of the

students of Scriabin's music is its strict regard for the principles of balance and form laid down by Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven. As to sugared clamminess of the harmonic tissue and monotony of the musical outline, one can only wonder whether this critic knew anything of Scriabin later than, say, the opus 8, or even knew the early works at all intimately. An outline in the distance often appears much more monotonous than it does at close quarters.

"Hectic erethisms" and "the very mire of hysterical emotion" are sounding phrases; but, as a matter of fact, many of those to whom Scriabin's music appeals most strongly are people who are quite unaffected by other people's feverish excitement and to whom hysteria is merely a disagreeable complaint in others which does not touch themselves. Moreover, much of Scriabin's early work was proclaimed by those who first knew it as great because its beauty was of an abstract character which did not require any explanation by means of analytical programmes or otherwise. The analysts did not provide the substance which made the music known but merely added to what was already recognized. As to the programmatic nature of Scriabin's music this is discussed later.

However, this criticism has at least the advantage of being somewhat reasoned, and is not like that of a critic in a Dutch ladies' paper who referred to "the dadaisms of Scriabin." This latter writer either did not know what dadaism is or was an extremely unintelligent listener. If there is one school more than any other with which Scriabin has nothing in common, it is that of the dadaists.

Actually, Scriabin was not like anyone of the composers with whom he has been compared, whatever details he may have acquired from them; for he represents in himself and in his work the opening phases of a new epoch in music. If it can be said that he carried on the work of any previous individual or any particular school, it was that of Liszt, through whom he descended from the German classical school, but whose ideas on programme music he developed quite independently of other composers in France, Germany and England.

In saying this one does not forget that his pianoforte style, and the formal basis of his pianoforte works, are based on those of Chopin. This is, however, a purely technical detail, and affects the general trend of his work only incidentally.

Unfortunately his early death, and the fact of his introspective nature, prevented him from seeking or encouraging disciples, hindered further progress on the direct lines of his own work, and

caused his music to be understood on too narrow a basis. Consequently he no more founded a school than did Debussy, though, doubtless both have followers. In some details one traces his influence in such varied composers as Pizzetti, Holbrooke, Florent Schmitt, and Prokofieff, but not one of these or of the still younger schools has followed him whole-heartedly.

What then is it that Scriabin has done for music to give him a position, not necessarily superior to others, but quite distinct from them and of such a character as to affect the whole trend of music? Like Haydn, Mozart, Schubert, Schumann, Verdi, Mendelssohn, Weber, Brahms, he has written great and intensely moving works. More than this, however, he has like Bach, Beethoven and Liszt opened up a new way.

Primarily this is technical, and we cannot afford to pass by his studies in arbitrary combinations of tones. In these he started, like Debussy, with the idea of utilising natural harmonics; but gradually realising that this was not possible, he contented himself with discovering what combinations would serve his own purpose. It matters little whether he chose the series of sounds deliberately and then composed the music, or whether he composed the music and then, on analysing it, discovered he had employed only this series. What does matter is that he has used the means most suitable for his purpose and thereby justified both himself and others who do the same—provided, of course, that these others use the material and methods they themselves find useful, and do not merely employ those utilized by Scriabin. In using, for instance, in *Prometheus*, the upper partials from 8 to 14, except No. 13, he omitted this latter simply because he had no use for it, and did not at all invent a new scale or chord. He did, however, show how effectively it was possible to write not in spite of but because of the restriction of his gamut.

Similarly in his attempts to combine sound with colour, which were less advanced and therefore necessarily less successful, he was seeking a means that would help him to convey his own thoughts and emotions to others. Whether those thoughts and emotions had or had not any reference to Theosophy is a matter of importance only to the individual works. What is of importance to others is that he has by actual experiment brought into utility methods not previously available.

It is not in these details, in fact, but in his general development, that Scriabin forms something more than an isolated phenomenon in the midst of the crowd of good, bad and indifferent composers. Such phenomena have occurred in individual com-

posers and individual works at most, if not all, periods of the history of music right down from the appearance of "Sumer is i-cumen in," and probably even before it, to our own days. They appear to have little bearing on the general progress of music, and are often excrescences, desirable or otherwise. Scriabin's music, on the other hand, appears to bear a peculiar significance with regard to, and to have a strong influence upon, the advance that is being made in the expressive power of the art.

To see this it is necessary, though it may be done very briefly, to trace his development from his early imitative experiments to the full power and individuality of his later works. And looking at these later ones we shall discover that, like Purcell, Schubert, Mozart, Mendelssohn and many others who have died comparatively young in years, he was not young in the maturity of his feelings and methods of expression, except, of course, in the way that the true artist never grows old. One general conclusion may be mentioned first, as its recognition helps to make the way clear.

Scriabin was essentially a programmatist; not in the way perhaps that most of our modern composers are, but with all the essential qualities of that class of writing. He employed the outlined programme which the titles of his works suggest as a means of stirring his own inspiration. Consciously or unconsciously he seems to have adopted the principle embodied in Liszt's description of a programme which set out that it "should be only some foreword couched in intelligible language added to purely instrumental music, by which the composer has the intention of preserving his work against any arbitrary poetical interpretation, and of directing his attention in advance towards the poetical idea of the whole, and some particular point of it."

Now it seems to me, and I think it will to most people who know the works, that nothing could bear out this definition more fully than *The Divine Poem*, *The Poem of Ecstasy*, *Prometheus or Vers la Flamme*. So far as Scriabin himself was concerned it was what Brahms—I believe—called the application of the match to the fire; or more exactly the striking of the match on the rough surface, the stirring of the constituent and compressed gases into an active flame.

With a large number of modern composers the chief means of stirring this potential fire is that of a literary, pictorial or philosophical programme. Some composers, of whom Richard Strauss is the most striking instance, must work this out in detail; to others, like Elgar and like Scriabin himself, a slight suggestion is sufficient. In the earlier works of most composers the mere desire to exercise

their technic, to follow the example of the previous composers whose works they admire, is a sufficient provocation. These works naturally lack both the inspiration and the individuality of the later ones, when life and the experience of life compel them to utterance. And the more comprehensive the mind of the young composer, the more potentially great, the greater will be the number of influences which show themselves.

It is, therefore, a distinct tribute to the receptivity and comprehensiveness of Scriabin that he has in his early works been compared with so many of his predecessors. How unoriginal, how nearly empty of significance the early works of a great composer may be we can see in Scriabin's first attempt at writing a Sonata—an attempt which failed and resulted only in a single movement. This is the *Allegro Appassionato* (op. 4) an agreeable student work, which most clever young men who know Liszt and Chopin well could write. It certainly does not show the strength of thought or the power of handling his subjects which from the first was observable in the E flat minor Scherzo of Brahms, a work which corresponds alike in key and in chronological position as well as in intention. Not long after it, however, he begins to feel his feet, and while in the *Twelve Preludes* of opus 8 he is still under these influences we find in them the feeling for harmonic colour which is so striking a feature of all his later work, and which is shown in none of them more than in the last of the group.

As a consequence of both the successes and the self-observed shortcomings he experienced in these Scriabin worked hard first at composition and then at pianoforte playing and teaching. The *Prelude and Nocturne* for the left hand alone, which immediately followed, were doubtless the result partly of an accident to his right hand and partly of his desire to improve his left-hand technic. Several groups of Preludes and Impromptus, the *Sonata-Fantasia* in G sharp minor, into which some, with keener insight or a more adaptable imagination than most possess, read a foreshadowing of his "Theosophical" works, the third Sonata, which shows this more definitely, his first Symphony in imitation of Beethoven's Ninth, and the two wonderful little Preludes of opus 27 in which his harmonic ideas begin to shape themselves, all come in this period, as well as the popular Concerto, which is one of the least characteristic of Scriabin's compositions.

With the Fourth Sonata he entered a period of his work, so far as it is possible to periodise work which ebbed and flowed in its development so much as did that of Scriabin, that was free from direct influences, though he did not yet show his full individuality.

He himself described the two motives of the first theme of this Sonata as "the striving upwards towards the Ideal Creative Power" and "the resultant Languor or Exhaustion after effort." Here we see distinct signs of the composer's developing knowledge of human psychology, for after the statement of the theme comprising these motives he develops first the Languor motive and then makes that relating to Creative Effort seem to force itself forward till at last all languor disappears and gives way to the joy of Creation.

This, it will be noticed, is the basic idea of all his later works, though some of them carry it much further. In this work we get, too, some of the harmonic ideas which he also developed. So far ahead of anything he had done before is this work, although quite in line with them, that it will not be surprising if in future years, when music as a whole has reached the point marked out by this innovator, if all the earlier work is put into the background as being merely that of an apprentice or experimenter. Here there is a sureness of touch which suggests a mastery of material that makes experiment unnecessary.

We may pass straight on to the next Sonata, though between these works came much of importance, including his symphony, *The Divine Poem*, a work so far as mere beauty of sound is concerned superior to almost anything else he has written. Neither this work nor the mass of pianoforte music of the same period is of new significance to anyone except the composer, though in it is developed both the idea and the technic of his composition. A new *point d'appui* was reached in, and a new advance made from the *Poem of Ecstasy*. While he was writing this big orchestral work he was also composing his Fifth Sonata based on the same subject and with something of the same musical ideas, though built upon quite different musical motives.

In these we can observe the two-sided musical nature and technic of Scriabin. Handel and Brahms are the supreme examples of great composers who scarcely distinguished between orchestral and pianoforte styles. Beethoven, Schumann, and still more Chopin, also frequently confounded them, but Handel and Brahms had one style for both kinds of work. Weber, Schubert and Mendelssohn distinguished very clearly between them, but in these cases the distinction was almost entirely of a technical nature. In Scriabin the distinction is essential, arising out of the development of his own nature, and the technic was so subtle as to pass practically unnoticed. Probably he scarcely knew that he was employing two different technics, which, particularly in a case like this, makes the contrast all the more notable.

Even in the Sonata his programmatic intention and execution are obvious, and he gives, in the verse placed at the beginning of the work, just sufficient suggestion of his intentions to put in the right direction the imaginations of his hearers:

I call you to life, O mysterious forces!
Submerged in depths obscure
Of the Creator Spirit, timid embryos of life,
To you I now bring courage.

Three themes are employed in the principal movement, of the first of which there is an anticipation in the Introduction or Prologue. The composer himself gave no indication of his programme except the verse quoted, but there is a more or less official scheme by his friend Gunst. This suggests an amiable call as the first subject and a more stirring and urgent one as the second subject. (The second subject, by the way, is in its melodic outline not unrelated to the theme of Strauss's *Tyll Eulenspiegel*, a vastly different story.) The answering stir of the "timid embryos of life" is represented by a suave melodic figure. Details of the development have little or nothing to do with the psychological programme, but the gradual rising from obscurity to a moment of Pure Light seems to me to be evident.

We must remember that now he had acquired an enormous technic, by a thoroughness of study that was almost unique, Scriabin was able to express his love of Nature and its concomitant Theosophy in his own way. These two are inseparable, though while the love of Nature finds expression in many details of the earlier Preludes, the religious or mystic side of it, which probes into the beginnings and ends of things, finds expression only in these later works of a programmatic character. Music, I have said elsewhere, "is the highest as well as the most obvious expression of religious emotion, that is of the purely human side of religion as apart from any divine revelation": and this, I think, applies very clearly to the later music of Scriabin. Whatever we may call Theosophy,—a religion, cult, philosophy, superstition,—Scriabin evidently held to it firmly as an inevitable consequence of his ideas about and love of Nature. And holding to it so firmly, feeling it as much as reasoning it, he could not help but express it in the terms of his own art. As this had not at the time been expressed to any full extent in music, he had to extend the vocabulary of that art, which he did by introducing new chords which gradually led almost to the exclusion of the chords to which we had been made accustomed before.

It is this rather than the actual religious character of his work that makes it difficult of apprehension. One does not need to believe the same as the composer in order to appreciate his music. Otherwise the music of Palestrina, Mozart, Gounod and Franck would be taboo to the Protestant and the Jew, and that of Handel, Brahms and Mendelssohn to the Catholic and the Moslem. Yet we know this is not the case.

So in the same way Scriabin found his subjects and expressed himself in the nearest terms which music possessed relating to religion and philosophy—and in so doing expressed some essential musical and human truths. His object seems to have been to represent the growth of human consciousness from its lowest depths to its greatest heights. He could only guess at these two extremes, however, and therefore wisely wrote what he felt and left the exact interpretation to each hearer. In this Theosophical series we may begin with the *Poème Satanique*. Apropos of this title, one may recall that Josef Holbrooke said some time ago that he found the trend of modern music to be Satanic. If he had said it was "dæmonic," in view of much of what is written by himself, by Scriabin and other contemporary composers, it would be possible to agree with him; but the genial and harmless nature of most of it does not suggest any connection with the Prince of Evil; and in using this title Scriabin probably means the same as does Holbrooke. *The Divine Poem*, the Fifth Sonata, *Prometheus*, the Sixth Sonata (which Dr. A. Eaglefield Hull, the author of a Life of Scriabin, considers to be a Russian version, in pure music, of the idea which inspired Newman's *Dream of Gerontius*), and *Vers la Flamme* complete the list.

To express this feeling, as I have said, he had to invent new methods, which he did gradually, working on the same principles as Debussy had done; that is, by using the upper harmonics and selecting those which suited his purpose. The Sixth Sonata he based on a chord starting on G followed by D flat, F, B, E and A flat, and the Seventh Sonata on a transposition of the same chord. His original idea was that these higher harmonics should be pure and not the tempered notes, but he had to make the best of circumstances and be satisfied with what he could get. In *Prometheus* he took from the eighth to the fourteenth harmonics, omitting the thirteenth, and so formed a chord which for his purposes was a Common Chord, starting on D followed upwards by F sharp, B flat, E, A and C. He does not by any means keep to this chord or the scale which its notes make, but uses it as freely as earlier composers used the perfect triad. Appoggiature and

acciacature are frequent in all parts, particularly in the formation of melodies.

It is readily to be understood that he was attracted by Dr. Wallace Rimington's invention of the "Colour Organ" or "Colour Keyboard." It fitted both the advancement of his musical technic and his Theosophic ideas of the relation of life and light. By it he wished to bring into association with his work appropriate blends of coloured light, different coloured lights in isolated columns, points of light and irradiations, all in keeping with the mood and thought of the music. That his ideas in this matter have never yet been fully carried out is not the fault of the conception or of his methods of writing them down or putting them into force generally. With the rapid advance that is being made in the technic of music and the physical sciences it will probably not be long before we have a means of combining music and colour, or rather of employing coloured light as an adjunct to music, that will meet the requirements of this work as well as of such a work as Professor Bantock's *Atalanta in Calydon*, in which the system is applied more broadly.

We have yet to make considerable advance in the mechanical side of the work, however, before this can be done, and we have to induce the capitalists who can afford to spend millions on concert-halls to make ample experiments. We shall never agree exactly as to what the correspondence between colour and sound is; but this is no reason for putting off our experiments. We do not now agree as to the correspondence between emotion and tone; but this does not prevent us from having huge and expensive orchestras which contain instruments of which we have not yet gauged the full potentialities. Scriabin's use of colour was a failure in the same way as was Beethoven's manner of writing for certain instruments, though possibly to a greater extent. It is possible future generations will look on it with little or no more wonder or amusement than we do on Beethoven's orchestration.

So far as the instrumentation is concerned the score of *Prometheus* is for the ordinary type of large orchestra of to-day, of which the composer availed himself of the full resources so far as he knew them. Besides the string players a minimum of forty-two instrumentalists is necessary, and with the organist, whose instrument comes in at the Coda, and the pianist, whose part is of such importance as to be commonly regarded as a solo part, forty-four. To balance all this, and also because of the elaborate part-writing, often in six, eight and sometimes in ten parts, a proportionate body of string players is necessary, so that it is not merely ineffec-

tive, but it is impossible to produce, with an orchestra of less than from 100 to 120 players. The choral section is not important and adds to the effect only if it is powerfully and very expressively sung.

In its structure the work follows fairly closely the outlines of classical form, though it contains something like nine themes or separable motives. Notwithstanding its new chordal scheme the work is in the key of F sharp, though one does not readily realise this on reading it. It would be interesting and instructive to see the score simplified according to the system of the late Mr. Stanley Hawley or Mr. Elliott Button, by which many of its difficulties and complexities would be removed. Even without this, if one remembers that, like that of most other composers, Scriabin's notation is based on practice and not on theory, and that, being a pianist, E sharp and F natural were the same to him, as were also C flat and B natural, it is not difficult to study the score, though at first sight confusing.

Turning to the programmatic side it is scarcely necessary to recall the story of Prometheus, who stole fire—the fire by which the human soul lives—from heaven. Scriabin took the mystical aspect of this story, and, again without working out any intricate details, made it the groundwork of his music. We may, if we wish, absolutely dispense with this programme in listening to the work and yet obtain a great pleasure from its purely tonal effect. Nevertheless, it is useful to have the programme in mind, for it elucidates much that might otherwise be obscure.

Unlike Beethoven, Halévy, Liszt and other composers who have treated this subject, Scriabin does not appear to have gone to Æschylus, Shelley or Herder, or even to Hesiod, for his story, but to have taken the bare legend and applied it directly to his purposes. As he has viewed it the legend appears to be this: In the beginning man's mind was, like the earth, without form, and void, and was full of the darkness of death—of the death which belongs to the animal and vegetable world. With the advent of the Divine Fire which Prometheus stole from heaven, or as the Bible puts it, when God breathed into Man the breath of life, man became a living spirit, a creative and conscious being, with a volition by which he could do. We get therefore the indeterminate beginning of the work, with its "foggy" tremulant chord of the 11th on the keynote, and its vague melodic figures. Gradually the music becomes clearer with a "contemplative" melody and a little later a joyous figure which suggests the first full consciousness of life. The piano has singing melodies and arpeggio accompaniments which suggest strongly, if not definitely, its association with

the idea of human nature. Mood follows mood, joy and sorrow, hope and despair, pain and pleasure, till all are blended in that tremendous climax of the final cadence.

In some respects one sees a relation between this work and Strauss's *Tod und Verklärung*, though while the German work represents the triumph over death, that of the Russian composer represents the triumph over non-existence—a very real if not a very obvious difference. Strauss's work is the more beautiful, or at least the one in which the beauties are more readily observed, though which is actually the greater work of the two can only be determined by their respective powers of resistance to the ravages of time.

It is significant of the period, as well as of the mentality of Scriabin himself, that his use of the human voice in this work and in his first symphony is made for the purpose of getting tone-colour and cumulative effect, and not verbal expression. Although so many choral works are being composed, there are comparatively few in which the words are of direct and immediate importance. This is not, of course, to the benefit of choralism as an art, because it lessens the importance of clear diction. For this reason it is detrimental to music as a whole, and the lack of any real choral work by Scriabin is as regrettable as is his lack of interest in opera.

His remaining five sonatas and many shorter works for the piano repeat what he has already expressed before, emphasising it by their varied manners. They are all marked by that complete economy of material which distinguishes him from some of his greatest contemporaries. The ideas of his proposed "Mystery," with its curious combinations of music, gesture, words, colour and perfume—a kind of idealised and unified ecclesiastical ritual—were too elaborate, too abstruse, to be carried into effect. Even his musical ideas, as shown in his final *Five Preludes*, are beyond the comprehension of a large proportion of the most modern-minded musicians. Not so, however, the work of a little earlier date which is doing as much to make his name known as are his orchestral poems—his Prelude, *Vers la Flamme*—which, apparently, has much the same psychological basis as has *Prometheus*.

One of the things which Scriabin has taught, as all creative artists who are also experimentalists teach, is the truth of Vincent d'Indy's oft-quoted words, that "all processes are good, on condition that they never became the principal end, and are regarded only as means to make Music." Hitherto we have been too much concerned with Scriabin's chords, with his Theosophy and his

colour organ. We have to realise that the significance of his work lies in its independence of mere technic, in its adoption of both ancient and modern principles and its employment of the means to hand. When we recognise how far beyond his predecessors he was able to go with how little new machinery, we shall then begin to realise his significance and his position—great or small, but certainly individual and at present unique—among the composers of the last three centuries.

EMOTION AND THE SENSE OF FORM IN MUSICAL RECEPTION¹

By A. DROZDOV

THE accelerated tempo of artistic, and especially of musical development observable of late has led not only to the practical study of the art, but also to an increasing interest to the investigation of its theory. A whole literature devoted to musical questions has been created; lectures on music, cycles of them even, have become usual, and the musical section of the general press has been extended.

While setting a very high value on the significance of these phenomena, we notice at the same time the following essential peculiarity of the contemporary investigations of musical theory. Musical phenomena are studied and appraised, not in the process of their reaction and reception, nor in their "phenomenal" quality, but exclusively *in abstracto*, in the quality of certain "things in themselves," lying outside the plane of subjective reception, and having a sort of self-sufficient existence.

Contemporary musical investigators (theorists, historians, and critics) tell us of present and past musical resources; of the forms (ancient and modern) of musical productions; of the contemporary scale, its historical origin, and the changes awaiting it; of the *quality* of old and new musical works. Very much is said of all this, but hardly anything of the *process of musical reception* and its component moments; of the active significance of music; of the merits and defects of the external forms of musical reaction of the present day.

We agree that the accepted method of studying musical phenomena offers a natural abstraction, important and indispensable to the investigation of the subject, but the abstraction is expedient only when it is supplemented by another, which enquires into a parallel zone of phenomena temporarily removed from the investigator's field of view. If this condition is not observed the abstraction threatens to become a fiction.

And so, side by side with the study of music as a subject there should be its investigation as a process; musical *statics* in conjunction with musical *dynamics*; or, to express it in terms of jurisprudence, music in its *objective sense* with music in its *subjective sense*.

¹The Russian word is "Vospriyatie." This word means the action of receiving and assimilating, and is used in this sense throughout this article. S. W. P.

This investigation is particularly important in view of the special qualities of the musical art. Whatever our views on music and æsthetics, we can never deny that of all the arts music is the most emotional, the most dynamic, the most *active*; that the sphere of subjective conditions originated by it is too inseparably connected with its objective existence to be regarded as beyond the bounds of musical competence.¹

On the other hand, our age is one of "great reforms" of a kind in the sphere of artistic culture, an age of "revivals" and "fusions," in a word, an age of great artistic constructiveness. Is it logical to abandon without examination and investigation so important an æsthetic sphere as musical reception, a sphere possibly concealing within itself the solutions of great æsthetic problems?

The indispensability of the study of music in a "subjective sense" is therefore generally evident.

This study is undoubtedly an enormous task, demanding the prolonged collaboration of many musical investigators, and is quite beyond the scope of a magazine article. My present attempt is limited, in the first place, to the stating of the general question of musical reception and, secondly, to a survey of the particular question of the *mutual relationship between the emotional and the intellectual elements* of musical reception.

The process of musical creation inevitably involves two stages, the *intuitive and unconscious* (the passive conception, the overhearing, as it were, by the composer of the most fundamental elements of the future production, the most brilliant melodies and harmonies, the most characteristic bits of the orchestration) and the *actively-intellectual* (the complex, fully conscious work of combining the fundamental material, of giving it form). Similarly, the process of reception is accomplished on two different planes—on the *plane of the formal* (the grasping and appreciating of the various relations of the parts, on a large as well as on a small scale) and on the *plane of the emotional* (the experiencing of various feelings, to some extent similar to those commonly experienced by us, but flavoured, so to speak, with an after-taste of the music, and having a tinge, common to all of them, of a certain *joyousness and elation*).

It is quite evident that both processes are indispensable elements of any musical reception; for, on the one hand, a reception

¹There are no grounds for referring these phenomena to the domain of psychophysiology; the connection of musical impressions with, and their reaction on various physiological processes (the working of the heart, stomach, etc.) have little interest for us in the given instance. We are concerned with the special investigation of the restricted sphere of musical reception.

of the form alone, untinged by even a small admixture of emotion, would be a purely analytical, reasoning process, and not an experience of the beautiful; on the other hand, a purely emotional reception without the least sense of form would be out of the order of æsthetic experience.

In investigating the reasons for the two-sided reception of a musical work, we come to the natural conclusion that the formal properties of music are received by way of the intellect, and that its other properties react on the emotional side of the psychics, just as the form of objects is recognised by the vision and the other qualities of their substance by the other senses. But a premise of this kind would bring us up against an exceptional difficulty, namely, that a very close analysis of the nature of music convinces us that it has no properties except *form*; that it is substantially homogeneous; that from beginning to end it is formal; and that the contrast between the form and the substance, so essential in other arts, here has apparently no meaning.

In actual fact, by form in music we understand some method of apportioning certain fundamental musical quantities (themes); according to their quality, character, tonal relation, sequence, and system of repetition we have a vocal duet or trio, a rondo, a sonata, or a fugue. Nevertheless, within the limits of the theme—let us suppose that it constitutes a period—we observe a certain scheme of construction, a certain relation of the parts; in other words, a certain *form*. Consequently, the period is also a form (only in a lesser degree) in its relation to the smaller unit—the sentence. But the sentence is composed of phrases and the phrases of motifs, hence all this is form to a varying extent. And the motif is not the atom of the musical substance—it presupposes the *relation* of the pitch of the notes and their rhythmical value—form again! Harmony presupposes a definite *relation* of the pitch of notes sounding simultaneously (form); even the pitch of the individual notes and the colour of their timbres are, after all, the relations of the number of vibrations in a unit of time—and again we have the element of form. And so in music there is apparently no material other than form; its nature from beginning to end seems to be formal. But if such be the case, where is the source of the two-fold nature of its reception? Why are we clearly and definitely conscious of the presence of some element other than the formal, received by us in a different way?

This seeming contradiction is explained by the fact of a peculiar *transformation of energy* in the sphere of musical assimilation. Just as the one phenomenon of the vibration of the particles

of matter conveys to us the entirely different sensations of light and heat, dependent upon the rapidity of the vibrations, so the reception by us of the homogeneous formal substance of music gives utterly dissimilar psychic results *in accordance with the nearness or the remoteness* of the formal elements: the smallest formal relations are received as sensations and not as forms; on the other hand, the relations of the most widely separated units are received by the reasoning faculty, that is to say, as formal relations. The causes of this difference lie in the degree of ease with which formal relations are assimilated: the smallest formal units are so easily and habitually absorbed by the senses that no active participation of the reasoning powers is demanded, hence they are received passively, as sensations; on the other hand, the relations of the biggest and most widely separated units (in the sense of time) require for their recognition a certain active, intellectual process; hence they are received as specifically formal. Thus a difference in the amplitude of formal relations leads to a qualitative difference in their psychological results.

To the category of close relations received passively and not formally belong: *the harmony, the fundamental melodic material of a composition, its metrical and rhythmical features*, the dynamics and timbre-colour of the music (this may be regarded as the element of music which, more than any other, is received unconsciously and emotionally); these elements appear to be preëminently the source of musical emotion, the "emotional substance" of music, as it were; they do not manifest themselves as musical material in respect of form in its strict sense, into the sphere of which enter all the other relations of a greater amplitude (the "formal substance").¹

Having established the dual character of musical reception and the psychological principles of that duality, let us look at the question of the quantitative relation of the emotional and the intellectual in musical reception. How is the relation of these elements to be determined, and how far are they dependent on each other?

From what has already been said, it follows that the relation between emotion and the sense of form depends very closely on the qualities of a composition. Its structure and character determine

¹From what has been said it follows that the confines of substance and form, of the emotional and the formal elements, are not of an absolute, but of an historical and even of an individual character. If they are determined by the degree of habituation to and directness of reception, then evidently an increase of experience extends the limits of the musico-emotional, thrusting back the boundaries of the specifically formal element into the sphere of the more complex relations.

the nature of its reaction, and the inclination of that reaction to the emotional or to the formal side. Everything hangs on the proportion in which the emotional and the formal substance have been blended by the composer of the work. The preceding explanations reveal the meaning of this metaphor: the more power and convincingness the composer has put into the creation of the musical material (e.g., the more prominent and characteristic the melody, the more varied and original the harmony, the more significant and expressive the rhythmic, and the more animation and colour there are in the dynamics and the instrumentation) the more emotional the given music, the more *emotional substance* there is in it. The more acuteness the composer has displayed in arranging the plan of a composition, the more detailed and complex the combinations created from the fundamental material, the more "formal" is the general character of the work, the more of the "formal substance" does it contain.

Another factor affecting the relation of the elements of musical reception is the hearer's level of general culture.

It is usually supposed that the possession of a sense of form is *directly* dependent on the level of culture, the *converse* being the case with regard to the emotional excitability.

The first part of this assertion is indisputable. It is quite clear that the faculty of receiving and appreciating the formal elements, being closely connected with memory, attentiveness, and the habit of abstraction, increases with the general development of the intellect.

As to the latter half of the assertion, which deals with the emotional excitability, we are inclined to maintain our own opinion. In affirming that musical emotion varies inversely with the level of culture, it is usual to cite as instances those who have but little of the latter, savages (apparently no musico-psychological investigation can dispense with them) whose musical emotions are manifested in a supremely active, impetuous form (the impulse to displays of activity: transports of joy and mirth, or, on the contrary, profound depression, etc.). They contrast these displays with the tranquil, evenly-balanced character of the cultured man's musical impressions, and infer from it the greater emotional excitability of the savage (in the musical sphere). Of course all this is by no means convincing, since the contrast quoted characterises not so much the strength of the emotion as the comparative development of the controlling centres, which is infinitely more intense in contemporary man than in the primitive type. On the other hand, there can be no doubt that the more delicate nervo-

psychical organisation of a man of the highest culture should be a guarantee that his emotional experiences will be more profound, varied, and subtle than those of a primitive man.

Let us turn to the more interesting question of the dependence of the component elements of musical reception on the degree of special musical development and experience. There exists a very wide-spread opinion that a musical training, whilst extending and subtilising the "form-sense" faculty, correspondingly reduces the emotional responsiveness to music, blunts the musical sensitiveness, as it were.

The erudite musician is a pedant, a man versed in "musical mathematics," but he has no immediate concern with music; he is surfeited with it, and its joys are inaccessible to him. Such is the voice of current opinion, particularly kind to the dilettanti. It regards the formal and the emotional elements of reception as *polar* principles, contradicting each other.

In some respects this opinion is really not so reckless: it is visibly confirmed by a series of phenomena. Let us compare, for instance, the passionate pathos of the dilettante enchanted with some composition or other—let us compare it with the cold scepticism of the "erudite" musician, who subjects that very composition to a merciless critical analysis: in this antithesis is there not a clear indication of the chilling quality of musical erudition?

Let us also consider the case, familiar to everyone, of works which formerly delighted us, but which in the course of our musical education gradually lose their colour, and cease to have for us any charm, any emotional content.

Furthermore, is it not a material consideration that the too significant intellectual process of the recognition of form *psychologically* impedes, supplants, emotional experience? Or that a too severe and detailed criticism narrows the circle of musical delights?

Nevertheless, the convincingness of all these instances and considerations is only seeming.

Let us speak first of the sources of musical enjoyment. Those of the trained musician are infinitely more considerable by virtue of his possessing a sense of form. Let us recall what has been previously said. Relations and combinations easily remembered, owing to the small oscillation of their time-amplitude, constitute the "emotional substance"; all the other relations, more complex, more prolonged, lose their emotional character, and are received as form.

Is it not evident that for the trained musician, thanks to his experience and the keenness of his receptive faculties, the limits

of that which is capable of easy reception extend much farther than for the ordinary hearer; that, consequently, the zone of relations emotionally receivable is for him undoubtedly widened? Where the ordinary hearer finds only tedious artifices, jugglery, ingenious musical mathematics, received with difficulty and by means of the reasoning powers alone—there the specialist easily, unconsciously *feels* the beauty of the form, which serves him as a source of lively *joy*. Thus for the trained musician these sources are more abundant and varied; for him in the fullest sense “*tous les styles sont bons*,” whereas the dilettante is condemned to revolve within the sufficiently restricted limits of his powers of comprehension, limits for the narrowness of which he vainly endeavours to compensate by a lack of artistic discrimination.

The considerations just brought forward easily refute the argument that a complex intellectual process is incompatible with the experiencing of emotion. Such a complexity is least characteristic of the specialist in music. Thanks to his “expertness” and habituation to the reception of form, the process of its recognition is readily and involuntarily accomplished by him, leaving a vacant place, so to speak, for the purely emotional experiences. With the amateur, on the contrary, this process requires a great expenditure of effort, which affects the directness of the impression.

The appeal to custom, to a certain deadening of the senses, is far less serious. Even if we admit such a phenomenon, are there not revealed to the musician vast realms of unusual, little-employed musical resources, and experiences connected with them? For the artist and the poet (and for the musician, too) the experiences connected with their particular line of work are “ordinary,” but who will dare to assert that they derive less joy in their artistic sphere than the amateurs?

Therefore, the apparent polarity of emotion and the sense of form is nothing more than the outcome of superficial observation. Indeed, it would be an extremely sorry business if we saw in it a sort of psychological law: in that case the cultivation of an intentional dilettantism would be the highest form of musical progress.

In actual fact, musical training and musical emotion are not hostile principles; on the contrary, they mutually support each other.

We will not dwell on other factors affecting the qualitative composition of musical reception, e.g., the individual peculiarities of the hearer, his nervous excitability, temperament, special proneness to musical emotion, etc.

Let us glance at the question historically and practically. What was the rôle of each of the two elements of musical reception in the early periods of musical history, what are the special features of their mutual relations at the present day, and, lastly, what theoretical and practical problems are prompted by these features?

So far as history is concerned I can, of course, notice only the most fundamental stages. The Greek period of musical culture was a complete and clearly-recognised triumph for the emotional principle in musical art. And not because the formal principle was foreign to the spirit of that culture: on the contrary, in other respects (in the spheres of architecture, sculpture, and tragedy) Greek culture displayed a genius for perfection of *form* hitherto unsurpassed. No, but because the development of musical form, as a compound of the most unstable elements, as the least palpable and the most abstract, was bound to lag behind its fellows.

That is why musical form in our sense of the term, in the sense of a broadly-developed architectonic unity, was unattainable by Greek culture. The musical theory of the Greeks, which they zealously cultivated, and which attracted the attention of the greatest scholars of that time, studied the small elements of form only: tone, intervals, scales, the construction of melody, i.e., exactly that which has to do with the *emotional* resources of music. Further, the theoretical study of scales and melodies was supplemented by a schematic presentation of their reaction on the senses—an original musical prescription depicting most brilliantly the rôle of the emotional principle in the musical economy of the Greeks.

The fact that their music, lacking sufficient formal support for an independent existence, was put forward in conjunction with other forms of artistic reaction—this fact must not be considered an indication that music played a modest part in Greek culture: the elementary nature of its form was compensated by its quite exceptional power of reaction on the senses, attaining the intensity of an elemental upheaval. Think of the choruses of the antique tragedy and, especially, the rôle of music in the religio-orgiastic cults, mysteries, etc.

On the other hand, is not the ability of music to join in the general dance¹ of the arts and cults, thereby proving that it is still in its childhood—is not this at the same time a symbol of its ideal condition, to which it elementally aspires after accomplishing its long, predestined journey of individual development?

The significance of the ancient Greek music, so potent and active, was naturally bound to bring about a reaction in the histori-

¹*Khorovod*, i.e., a sort of round dance with singing. S. W. P.

cal period which followed Hellenism, the period of the triumph of the Christian state.

Having adopted as the basis of sacred music the system of scales worked out in the previous period, the fathers and teachers of the church displayed great strictness in the choice of musical means. They entirely excluded chromatics of any kind from the church service, as incompatible with the religious mood, and were very careful in their selection of diatonic scales, advising the avoidance of those which, according to accepted opinion, expressed sensuality, anger, or agitation, and recommending only a limited circle of keys entirely according with pure and lofty moods. Thus, from the beginning of the Christian era, musical emotion, as such, suffered a manifest curtailment of its rights. This seems to have predetermined the direction of the next musical development: the cultivation of the formal side.

The ascetic mood of the middle ages, with its harsh judgment of any display of "*joie-de-vivre*" or "heathenism," naturally did not want to see musical emotion flourish; on the contrary, the characteristic inclination of medieval culture for scholastic deduction was of the utmost assistance in the development of the formal tendency in music, and especially of the highest form of musical deduction—strict counterpoint. The domination of the strict style is the epoch of the manifest triumph of the formal substance over the emotional; in this sense it may be called the musical antipodes of Hellenism.

The creative genius of J. S. Bach proves to be the turning-point of the period under discussion; it denotes the revival of the forgotten, æsthetically-exhausted musical emotion. Serving as a source of profound and varied experiences, it is at the same time an example of exceptional severity and perfection in the architectonic scheme. The genius of Bach consists in the fact that he brought about the equilibrium of the formal and the emotional principles, hitherto unaccomplished.

The subsequent history of music reveals, in its outstanding events, a progressive tendency towards the emotional side.

The striving for expressiveness and descriptiveness, for power and depth of expression (in other words for emotional saturation), is at the bottom of Gluck's musical reforms, and especially of the revolution in the sphere of creation and reception associated with the name of Beethoven.

The essence of this composer's reforms is so clearly set forth in musical literature, and their general meaning—the subjection of the form to the importance of its content—is so firmly established,

that I am spared the necessity of further explanations and proofs.

Chopin and Schumann, who enriched music by a precious contribution of most intimate experiences, essentially perfected its emotional resources: harmony, melody, and rhythm; in regard to form, however, they adhered to inherited traditions.

The apostles of descriptiveness and expressiveness—Berlioz and Liszt—deliberately manifested their emancipation from the formal principle, which was an obstacle to their yearning for expressiveness in music. Wagner, who assigned to music a far from independent rôle in his dramaturgic consensus, and made it the interpreter of the inner dramatic process, still more logically disowned the most essential moments of previous form; but by enriching and complicating the emotional resources—harmony, melody (especially vocal), dynamics, and, to a supreme degree, orchestral methods—he created a whole epoch, which still persists.

Amongst the chief aims of the new Russian school of music were expressive declamation, psychological truthfulness, and brilliant and descriptive orchestration. It is true that the necessity of "European" craftsmanship (i.e., formal perfection) was clearly recognised by the artists of the "potent little crowd,"¹ but all of them, with few exceptions, gravitated mainly towards, and revealed themselves most fully in, the sphere of musical expression and colour, and not in that of musical architectonics.

Is it necessary to speak of contemporary music? Or to demonstrate the "emotional" character of the work of recent composers? We think not. Debussy and Ravel, Strauss, Stravinsky, and, above all, Skryabin—here we have so sonorous a chord, so brilliant a page of musical emotionalism, that neither underlining nor comment is required. Having concentrated his attention on the sphere of experiences most akin to him (Debussy—fleeting, impressionistic visions; Strauss—profound, heroic, and tragic experiences; Stravinsky—brilliant impressions of legend and story; Skryabin—pantheistic emotion), each of these composers cultivated and perfected in the form natural to him the *expressive* resources of music, without infringing the inviolability of the great repositories of those resources. Is it not characteristic that the supreme musical reformer of the present day, who founded a new system of harmony, the creator of "Prometheus"—Skryabin, clothed his most daring attainments in the form inherited by him from the depths of the musical past? If in other composers we

¹V. V. Stasov's term for the "kuchkisty," the famous five—Balakirev, Cui, Borodin, Musorgsky, and Rimsky-Korsakov. S. W. P.

meet with deviations from the formal canon, they are not of a self-sufficient character: the perfecting of form is a problem which least concerns the contemporary composer.

In investigating the peculiarities of contemporary musical creative work, and emphasising its brilliantly-expressed emotional nature, I have intentionally kept to the plane of "objective" music, and have not touched on the qualities of the *subjective process*; in them are peculiarities deserving special attention, and to them we will now turn.

The luxurious blooming of musical emotionalism (as the objective quality of music) which we have described, justifies us in conjecturing a corresponding development of the emotional principle in the process of contemporary musical reception. Having developed the apparatus of expression to the utmost, having created a series of new, hitherto unknown tonal charms, contemporary music, we argue, should also bring about a revolution in musical reception, since it has filled it with a host of varied experiences, profound, significant, possibly entirely transforming the human psychics. Nevertheless, the reality does not justify our expectations. More than that: never at any period of musical history has musical emotion been allowed to pass so unnoticed, as though it were something commonplace and insipid, as in the contemporary musical economy. Think of the setting of our concerts and operas, of the terrifying grayness of the mood of the audience, of the poverty of its feelings, all so insultingly at variance with what is being accomplished on the stage or platform; think of the transient character of their musical emotion, and the supplanting of it in a moment ("before they get as far as the tram") by trivial daily thoughts, which is so characteristic of the present-day audience! How timid and rickety that emotion is, how little it seems to be wanted, how slight the connection with the beating of the general pulse of life! We will not be too exacting. We will refrain from harsh and therefore unconvincing comparisons. We will not compare present-day music with antiquity, nor with the renaissance, nor even with the period of Mozart and Haydn, when musical emotion appears to have been closely interwoven in the chain of universal human feelings. Far more conclusive will be another contrast: the contrast between contemporary musical resources and their emotional result. On the one hand we have a colossal musical apparatus: harmony which has burst its banks; overtone chords; rhythms difficult to express by means of the existing system of notation; an unprecedented mobilisation of the orchestral army, the doubling of the normal number of orchestral

parts, the addition of ancient, forgotten instruments together with newly-invented ones, and, as a consequence of these transformations, most extraordinary sonorities, effects and noises, various methods and tricks in the staging of operas—all this on the one hand and, on the other, a musical reception which we have characterised as "ricketty," sickly, poor in feeling, fragile, brief, unconnected with life, and deprived of any active, regenerating significance. This antithesis reveals a remarkable inconsistency, which should seriously engross the minds of musicians. In very deed, what will happen next? Apparently the development and complication of the musical apparatus will not stop at the present level, and in the near future we shall see a continually-increasing complexity. New values will be created, new means of musical reaction—and all this in order that a bored and indifferent audience¹ may get a few nerve-tickling moments, and that the day after the concert the press may come out with some sympathetic or critical lines devoted to the new production.

We are far from wishing to abolish the absolute value of musical compositions apart from their reception, but of course the question of the proportion between the means of musical reaction and their result—emotion—is not an idle one, particularly in view of the fact that at the present time this proportion borders upon a profanation of musical works.

Thus we are faced with the fact of the emotional poverty of contemporary musical reception, a fact which is inconsistent with the absolute quality of contemporary musical productions, and at the same time cannot be explained by other causes: in actual fact, the musical preparedness of the contemporary audience, like the general level of its culture, is undoubtedly higher than in the previous periods of musical history.

Evidently there are in contemporary culture profound organic causes which prevent the free accumulation and display of musical emotion. We see these causes in the general position of the artistic principle in our life, in the forms and restrictions determining the relations of the arts to one another, and of all of them to the other spheres of our spiritual and practical life.

The contemporary arts are very powerful. Each of them has travelled the long road of individual development, the road of the gradual polishing of forms, the perfecting of technical means, and the accumulation of experience. But, whilst powerful, the

¹To avoid misunderstandings, it should be remembered that it is not a question of an amateur or a musically-ignorant audience; on the contrary, we are supposing a most enlightened and intelligent one.

arts are to the same extent solitary. They are isolated from one another, and still more so from the other spheres of human life; the free transfusion of æsthetic emotion into the other spheres, its *transformation*, is inconceivable in these days.

In ancient times musical ecstasy could find an outlet in dances or ceremonies. The man of the middle ages could turn his musical joys in the direction of prayer. But contemporary man? Into what could he "transform," where could he bestow a superfluity of his artistic emotion, when life flows along strictly-defined lines, which only eccentrics or great men can transgress; when neither our life nor our art knows the *forms of transmutation* of one artistic energy into another? A superabundance of artistic emotion would be a genuine embarrassment to contemporary man; it would be difficult to predict the results of a display of emotion duly proportionate to the music at the performance of the most characteristic music of the present day.

All these conditions have perfected in contemporary man a special instinct, the *instinct of repressing* in himself the exaltation and joy connected with the reception of musical productions. This instinct manifestly distorts the nature of musical reception, and sets its impress on the whole of our artistic psychology: we lose the habit of seeing joy in art, we consider it somewhat foreign to art, rather sentimental, amateurish, and we nip it in the bud; we cannot even compare it to that lighted candle which the devout man carefully brings into his house after the *strastnoe stoyanie*¹ in order to sanctify his dwelling.

And so the anomaly of our musical reception is based on a more general phenomenon: a suppression of artistic experiences peculiar to our day, a petrification of their external forms, their detachment from life and from one another. Evidently, the recognition of musical emotion must be sought in the establishment of special forms for the "transmutation" of the various aspects of artistic emotion and for the connecting of them with other manifestations of the human spirit, and not in the complicating of musical resources. (In this direction more than enough has been done.)

A most characteristic symptom of the crisis in musical reception (and in the position of art in general) is Skryabin's attempt—never carried out—to create the *Mystery*. As is well known, at the base of the idea of the *Mystery* lay the yearning to turn music and all the arts towards that fusion with one another and with the manifestations of the cult in which they had at one time

¹Night service during the fifth week in Lent. S. W. P.

dwelt, and which had promoted their active significance. However we may regard that attempt, however severely we may criticise its irrational elements, it cannot possibly be denied that the tendency of Skryabin's seekings, as well as the fundamental principles from which they started, were perfectly sound. It may be granted that, in a rational sense—pardon the tautology—the “cosmic expectations” which he connected with the realisation of his *Mystery* are irrational. But in a purely æsthetic sense are not the contradiction in musical reception, the mutilation of it, which we observe at the present day—are these not more irrational? Do they not insistently demand a certain reconstruction of the whole of our artistic conditions?

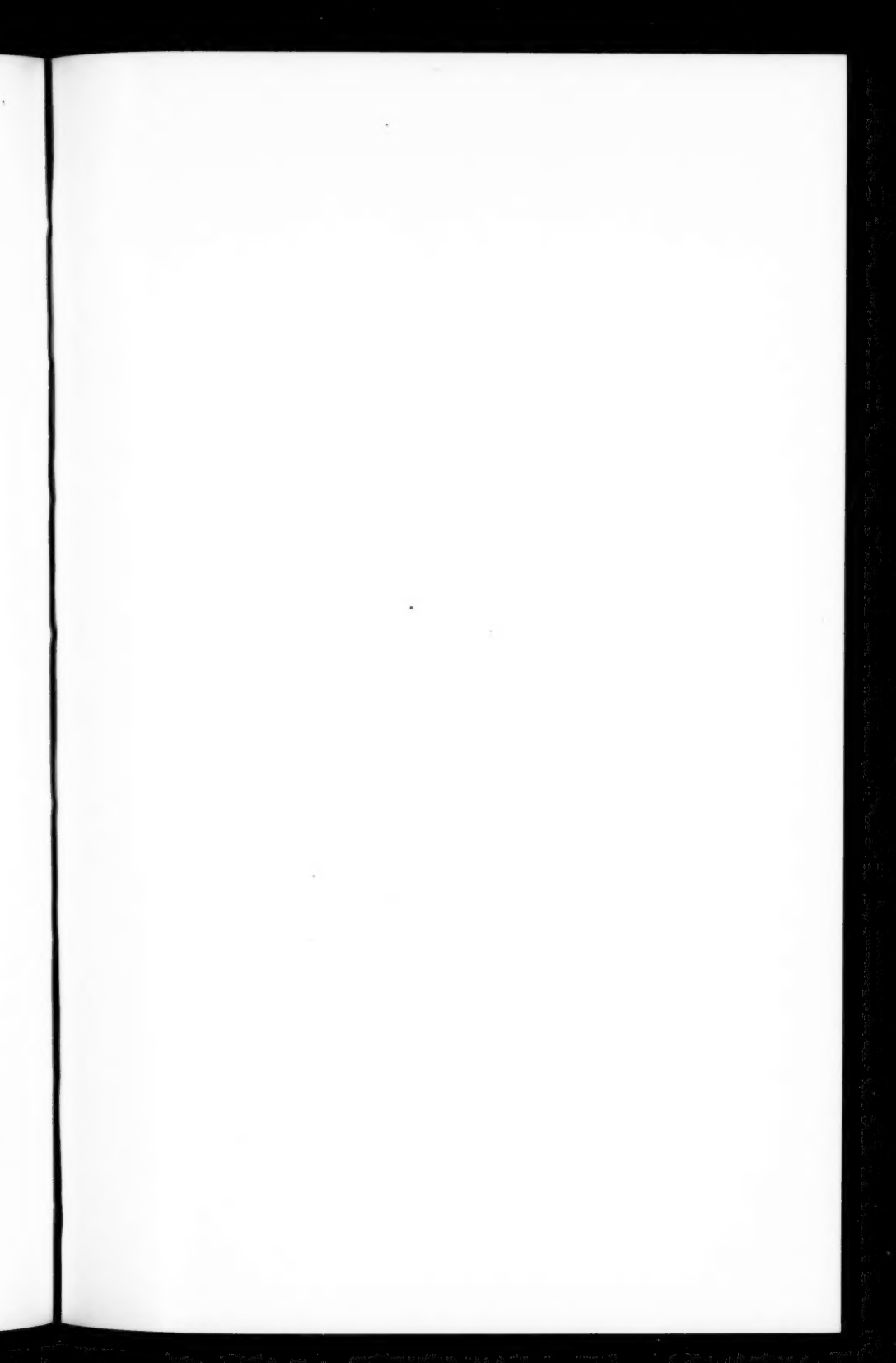
Thus the investigation of the question of musical reception brings us to the thought of the impending alterations in the whole of our artistic edifice. In summarising what has been said, we will formulate its fundamental ideas.

At the dawn of artistic culture, music, as a unit of the general family of artistic and religio-mystical phenomena, in the form of a mighty elemental force, fulfilled its artistic mission; its reaction and reception were specifically emotional. In the course of time it was isolated from the family of the arts and from the cult, and in this separation there was a great historical significance: thrown on its own resources, it accomplished the long and difficult journey which led to its individual development, the perfecting of its forms, and the accumulation of means for the future. During this journey the formal element predominated in the reception of music. But now the end is reached, the forms are found and perfected, and an immense reserve of the means of expression is accumulated. Conscious of its power, and of the tempered quality of its form, music is ready again to turn its attention to its native element of artistic emotion, but it comes up against an unexpected obstacle: the forms of contemporary artistic life cannot contain that emotional storm which music bears within itself. They smother and neutralise it. Musical reception refuses to put into these forms the admixture of emotion which music gives it. A musico-historical cul-de-sac is created. Where is the way out? Will music change the direction of its inner development and disavow emotion's too unrestrained inclinations, or will the forms of our artistic conditions be altered, and mankind discover in itself energy enough to create new and broader forms of the service of beauty? The latter supposition is certainly the more probable: it is easier for men to alter the order of their life than for art to break the line of its inner development. As a

matter of fact, the forms of our "concertos" and "operas" are not eternal. And how strongly we feel the corruptibility, the deadness of these forms, which so cripple our reception, and banish us so far from active communion with beauty!

What forms art will assume in the future—and we meet with indications of them in the seekings of contemporary art—is an extremely interesting and important question, but one which is beyond the scope of the present article, namely the investigation of the essence and peculiarities of contemporary musical reception.

(Translated by S. W. Pring from the *Muzykalny Sovremennik*,
Petrograd, November, 1916.)





CLAUDE DEBUSSY

From "Die Musik"

DEBUSSY AS CRITIC

By JOHN G. PALACHE

REVOLUTIONARY, personal, impressionistic, the articles published twenty years ago by Debussy in the "Revue Blanche"¹ and in "Gil Blas"² are interesting, if not always reliable, and one sees in them a reflection of the special sensitiveness of Debussy's music, the new impetus and direction which he gave to so much of modern composition.

These articles have been published recently in French, but have not been translated into English. The volume is called "Monsieur Croche, anti-dilettante"³ and the editor asserts that the book had been corrected, in proof form, by Debussy, when the war broke out. It was further reported in the "Temps," at the time of publication, that the city in which the book was to have been printed became a part of the "occupied" area, hence the delay in publication, resulting in the present posthumous volume, for Debussy died during the war.

When Debussy wrote for "Gil Blas" and the "Revue Blanche," he was young, unsuccessful and bitter. When he collected these articles for reprinting, he felt that some of them were too violent, and he omitted, notably, his account of a performance of the "Ring" in London.⁴ But, in general, "M. Croche" gives the tone and the critical standpoint of the reviews. It is simply a question of occasional omission, rather than of alteration.

Debussy laid weight upon the intended impressionism, the freedom for personal expression which was not to be embarrassed, no matter how loudly the opposite cry might "authoritatively" be.

"I shall try," he wrote,⁵ "to see, in various compositions, the various forces which have contributed to their creation, and that which they contain of the inner life. A curious mania seems to incite the modern critic of music to explain, to analyze, in fact to coldly kill the mystery or the emotion of a composition." But Debussy does not propose to do anything so impossible as to

¹1901.

²Jan.-June, 1903.

³"Les Bibliophiles Fantaisistes" (Dorbon-Ainé; Nouvelle Revue Française, Paris, 1921).

⁴June, 1903.

⁵"Gil Blas," Jan. 12, 1903.

demonstrate exactly wherein lies the secret of musical effect, especially when the composer does not appeal to him. "I shall not be concerned with certain consecrated works of traditional recognition and success. Once for all, Meyerbeer, Thalberg, Reyer, were men of genius. They are otherwise of no importance." But Debussy refers again to Meyerbeer, for the pleasure of damning "*Les Huguenots*," which he calls insufferably fatiguing, not only to listen to, but to produce; and he protests against the shooting of guns as a legitimate orchestral effect.

Darius Milhaud, in an article on "the evolution of modern music in Paris and Vienna,"¹ refers to Debussy's "possession of a wonderful sense of criticism," but he traces the line of influence which was partly responsible for his own music, around, rather than through, the work of Debussy as composer—a surprising "curve," for Debussy would seem to have been much more directly in the path of the latest modern musical developments than any other element of source. "Melody is our aim and our greatest ambition. . . . For the line of French composers of which I am a member or a disciple (I mean Rameau, Berlioz, Bizet, Chabrier, Satie)—who represent the purer heart of our national modern tradition—*melody* is the element which binds these names together."

Yet one feels that in many points of musical criticism, Milhaud and Debussy would have agreed.

"The sonatas of Beethoven," wrote Debussy,² "are very badly written for the piano; they are, more exactly, especially the last ones, orchestral pieces arranged for piano. . . . On the other hand, Chopin and Schumann really wrote for piano. . . . Beethoven loved music proudly; music was, for him, the joy so painfully lacking in his actual life." Debussy ridicules those who pretend to know exactly how Beethoven should be played—"have they talked with the All-Highest?" Elsewhere³ he explains the spirit of his remarks. "It would be absurd to assume that I am lacking in respect for Beethoven; I simply assert that even a musician of his genius may make mistakes as blindly as another."

Of Mendelssohn's "*Reformation Symphony*" Debussy wrote⁴ that it was too thickly coated with vaseline to please him, and refers to Mendelssohn as an "elegant and easy notary"; he mentioned an obscure composer "who did not appear to be cruel,

¹"North American Review," April, 1923.

²"M. Croche," pp. 15-16.

³Ibid., p. 84.

⁴"Gil Blas," March 23, 1903.

but whose concerto was without pity." Debussy refers to the "prix de Rome," than which he questions¹ the existence of a more "ridiculous institution. . . . It continues to be awarded with that deplorable obstinacy which is characteristic of absurd ideas"; he remarks that Liszt's symphonic poem "Mazeppa" is full of the worst faults, but its undeniable beauty springs from the fact that "Liszt loved music more than anything else." This point is repeatedly made, in Debussy's criticisms;—the love of music being rare not only in the vast majority of audiences, but also in the work of the composers to which these audiences listen with frequently superficial interest—an interest by no means always proportional to the value of the music.

"Is there no one," asks Debussy,² "who loves Saint-Saëns enough to tell him that he has written enough music, and would do better to devote himself to his proper vocation, and go on an exploring expedition? Saint-Saëns writes operas with the soul of an impenitent old composer of symphonies." Debussy wondered, at an interrupted performance of Schubert's "Unfinished Symphony," if it would never be agreed to let that composition remain unfinished forever, in concert-halls as in text.³ He wrote of Schubert's songs:—"They are inoffensive, but they remind one of the bureau-drawers of sentimental, provincial old maids."⁴

He called Weber⁵ the "father of that school of romanticism to which we owe the music of Berlioz, who sometimes neglected romantic music in his devotion to romantic color"; and it is not surprising to read⁶ of his indifference to less important composers. "It seems that music was never, for M. Massenet, the 'universal voice' that was heard by Bach and Beethoven, but rather a charming specialty." Debussy further wrote of Bach⁷ that "it is not the character of the melody, but its construction, its 'curve,' which moves one; still more often it is the parallel progression of two or more melodies, the mingling of which arouses the emotion of the listener."

"At the 'Opéra,'" wrote Debussy,⁸ in a protest that has been made not only in his time, "there is a continuation of the making of sounds which are called music by those who have paid to

¹"M. Croche," p. 20.

²This criticism is omitted in "M. Croche."

³"M. Croche," p. 59.

⁴This is omitted in "M. Croche."

⁵"M. Croche," p. 75.

⁶Ibid., p. 62.

⁷Ibid., p. 47.

⁸"M. Croche," p. 51.

hear it. It is not altogether necessary to agree with these people. There are at the 'Opéra' comfortable places called 'loges à salons,' so called because one is conveniently seated there without any necessity whatsoever of listening to the music." There seemed¹ to Debussy no desire, on the part of the public, to hear new music, and "if a composer of genius attempts to break the bars of convention, it is agreed to drown him in ridicule. Probably the poor composer dies prematurely; it is the only thing that he is encouraged to do." Debussy cannot help wondering why the 'Opéra' *persists* in playing Gounod's "Faust," to which it can only be replied that that opera is one of the most popular in Paris.

Of César Franck² Debussy wrote: "He had the soul of a child, so absolutely pure that he could contemplate, without bitterness, the wickedness of man and the contradictions of fate. He thought no evil; he never so much as suspected ennui. He was, in his attitude toward music, devotion itself. The difference between the art of Wagner, strange, beautiful, unholy and alluring, and the art of César Franck, is that César Franck served the spirit of music almost without asking for glory in return." Debussy found, in César Franck, a musician of the very highest rank.

Of Gluck:³ "For what reason has Gluck's tradition survived? The pompous and false use of recitative, and his impolite manner of interrupting the action, as in the case of Orpheus, who, having lost Eurydice, sings a romance which does not exactly express the requisite lamentable condition of spirit—these things may be partly responsible. We have, however, a purely French tradition in the music of Rameau, a work of charming and delicate tenderness, of proper emphasis, of distinction in declamatory utterance, without that German affectation of profundity, without that constant underlining, that endless propensity for repetition and explanation. It is to be regretted that French music has followed, for so long a time, a course which has lessened its clarity of expression, its beauty of form—qualities which are characteristic of French genius." One wonders how Debussy, who could be so deeply moved by the glories of Bach, could hear no echo of his greatness, if only an echo, in Gluck. As for the French musical tradition, Debussy, like all French writers, has a tendency to exaggerate its importance in musical history, not only in Europe, but in France itself.

¹Ibid., p. 49.

²Ibid., pp. 108-9.

³"M. Croche," pp. 79-80.

Debussy deprecated the modern attempt to revive the symphony, as a form. "It is apparent, that, since Beethoven, the symphony has declined, and though certain young Russian composers have tried to rejuvenate the form by the interweaving of popular airs, it is as if one dressed an old peasant woman in elaborate laces in which she would feel ill at ease."¹ It was a radically "new" music that Debussy craved, and there is a paragraph² concerning Dukas which would be applicable to much of Debussy's own music: "One may say that this emotional evocation is constructive, that it builds up a beauty like that of perfect architectural lines set in the colored spaces of the air and sky, mingling in a total, definite harmony."

Of Richard Strauss: "This music has not the rigid architecture of a Bach or a Beethoven, but its progression is a development of rhythmic colors; it is a mingling of the most utterly dissimilar tones and harmonies;—yet there is no escaping the conquering force of this composer."

Debussy's early admiration of Wagner's music was to undergo a certain modification, in the history of his critical theories. Before³ his own music had reached maturity, Debussy found, by chance, the score of Moussorgsky's "Boris Godunov," then practically unknown in France. He studied this original and masterly composition, and, at once, the charm of Wagner was weakened for him, and when, not long after, he heard a series of Wagner's operas at Bayreuth, he turned forever from the "idol," as such, which had exercised such a deplorable influence on French music. Debussy turned not only to Russia, but to Java, for musical inspiration—he objected far less to these influences than to that of Germany and Italy, on "French" music. He wrote of Moussorgsky:⁴ "No one has addressed that which is best in us with an accent more tender, more profound. He is unique, and he will remain so, on account of the freedom of his art from accepted formulæ and conventional methods. Never has a more refined sensibility been expressed by a simpler means. It is a primitive art, Moussorgsky's music, discovered step by step, in emotional experience—an art made up of a multitude of parts held together by some mysterious link, and by a gift of luminous clearness.

¹"M. Croche," pp. 33-4.

²"M. Croche," p. 43. Ibid., p. 94. Of Puccini, who is not mentioned in "M. Croche," Debussy complains that he chose "Bohème" for a subject, for his music is so utterly Italian. He wrote of Verdi ("Gil Blas," Feb. 16, 1903—not in "M. Croche"): "the esthetic theory of this art is not true—one cannot translate life into terms of song."

³See D. Chennevière's "C. Debussy et son œuvre" (Paris, 1913), p. 10.

⁴"M. Croche," pp. 37-8.

Sometimes Moussorgsky gives the effect of dark and terrible shadows; he can cause the deepest emotional reaction."

The most extraordinary of Debussy's criticisms are the expressions of his later opinions of Wagner. In listening to "Tristan," he heard the charming spirit of Chopin "dominating certain parts of the music, and breathing the fire of passion."¹ Of "Parsifal":² "... Amfortas, sad knight of the Grail, complains and moans like a child. Saprissi! When one is a knight of the Grail, the son of a king, one stabs himself, one does not groan through three acts! ... The most admirable character in 'Parsifal' is that of Klingsor (a former knight of the Grail, driven out for opinions upon the subject of chastity which were considered too personal for general toleration). Klingsor's malicious hatred is marvellous. He is the only human being, the only 'moral' person of this drama in which the most false ideas of religion and morality are expressed—ideas of which the chief supporter is the 'heroic,' foolish Parsifal. ... Kundry is the real victim, in the story; the victim of Klingsor's intrigues, and of the *holy* bad-humor of the Knight of the Grail." But Debussy adds: "In 'Parsifal' there are orchestral sonorities, noble, strong, rising in the form of monuments more beautiful than any others, to the immutable glory of music," and it is to be assumed that Debussy frequently meant, elsewhere, to say the funny, unpedantic thing about Wagner; he did not fail to appreciate the genius of the music, though he saw the inferiority of the libretto³ in comparison.

There is no good reason why Debussy's account of the "Ring," as performed in London,⁴ should have been left out of "M. Croche," since his criticism of "Parsifal" is included, for the former is still more amusing, and no more impressionistic.

"It is difficult to imagine the condition of the strongest mind after the four evenings of the 'Ring.' There are the dances of the 'leit-motif,' of the theme of Wotan, and of 'Damnation,' and others, in terpsichorean ensemble. This is more than an obsession—it is a total seizure. You no longer belong to yourself, you *become* a 'leit-motif,' marching in a tetralogical atmosphere. No daily custom of politeness will, thereafter, prevent you from addressing your friends in the clamorous manner of the Walkyries. 'Hoyotoho!'—(What a gay sound!)—'Hoyohei!'—like a newsboy

¹"M. Croche," p. 54.

²Ibid., pp. 100-2.

³It would be absurd to take Debussy too seriously on the subject of Wagner, just as it would be to regard Shaw's criticisms of Shakespeare as intended for absolutely literal expressions.

⁴"Gil Blas," June 1, 1903.

—'Heiaho!'—Ah! my lord! how insupportable do these furred and helmeted persons become after the fourth evening! They never appear unaccompanied by their damnable motifs. Imagine the gentle folly of presenting one's calling-card and, at the same time, chanting its printed message. The orchestra imposes upon us its innumerable comments on the story of the ring lost and found and lost again, passing from hand to hand, as in a game. And there is no end to the stupidity of Wotan, his lack of comprehension of everything that goes on around him. This master of the gods is surely the dullest of them all. He passes the time in endlessly narrating a story which the most unintelligent of the dwarfs would easily understand. Wotan can but brandish his lance, call forth fire, or commit innumerable follies from which he is powerless to rescue himself. You will answer me by saying that there was the necessity of filling the hours of four entire evenings—that it is 'the work of a giant.'—'A work of superhuman energy—the vanity of wanting quantity and quality together,' is the reply. There is ever the German obsession for pounding the same intellectual nail, again, and again, and again; the fear of not being understood which results in endless repetition. The people of the 'Ring' follow each other into a bottomless sea of pride. They never take the trouble to justify their actions. They come in, go out, talk without the least fidelity to what is likely or probable. Brunhilde allows herself to be fooled by Hagen and Gunther, like an ignorant girl. Really, it is not worth the trouble to be the daughter of a god! And she falls in love with Siegfried, the military hero, so proud of his glistening armor. He is her brother, more or less (for Wotan's inconstancy has made this state of things generally unavoidable—all the tetralogical persons are closely akin), and finally she is responsible for Siegfried's death. But in the midst of her acts of most impenetrable dullness, she can always sound her boastful battle-cry:—'Hoyotoho!' well done!—One is not expected to wonder at dragons that sing, at birds that give wise council, at bears and horses and crows and two black sheep and other creatures that enter charmingly into the general scheme of things.

"The great plan is so immense that its proportions are lost in infinity; its too presumptuous grandeur makes it impossible to grasp as a whole, and yet one feels that the least stone pulled from the mighty pile would cause the rest to crumble and destroy the world, while the gods looked down with immutable amusement at the vain efforts of a modern Prometheus."

But Debussy admits the existence of memorably beautiful moments in the long hours of the "Ring," in spite of "leit-motifs"

and interminably tedious, conventional and unprofitable "lessons" and proverbial admonitions.

On the occasion of the erection in Germany of a memorial to Wagner as the greatest of German composers, Debussy wrote:¹—"Well, then, who was Bach? A man who had many children? And did Beethoven become deaf out of spite, so that, without annoyance to himself, he might distress the world with his music? And was Mozart a voluptuous little person who composed 'Don Juan' to shock Germany? . . . One sees in the work of Wagner a striking comparison to be drawn with other composers. Bach is the Holy Grail. Wagner is Klingsor, wishing to destroy the Grail and to take its place. . . . But Bach reigns supreme in music, for, in his goodness, he served the spirit of music in and for itself, with disinterested love."

This last sentence is the altogether true, the altogether serious expression of Debussy's criticism of musical composition. In his least convincing opinions, Debussy is always an amusing impressionist—and there is a certain, individual truth in any impression. But in his tribute to Bach, he is profound. In many of his tingedly, at least, facetious judgments there is more than a slight element of justice, and his demonstration of the popularity of much in music that is mediocre, or worse, is always timely. And he is to be taken altogether seriously when he damns the tendency to damn that which is new, irrespective of merit;—for there is always this tendency.

Debussy's music has become an accepted form and expression, and the difficulties which he had, at first, to encounter, are now in the way of the later compositions of Scriabine, of Schönberg and others whose work makes that of Debussy seem classical and orthodox, by comparison. But the spirit of Debussy's musical criticisms, the open-mindedness of his attitude, should prove suggestive and helpful to critics of the latest musical developments. Questions of traditional form, of established rules, in all art, may be as misleading as questions of personal impression.

¹"Gil Blas," January 10, 1903—not in "M. Croche."

THE FALLACY OF HARMONIC DUALISM

By OTTO ORTMANN

I

ALL known systems of harmony fall into one of two classes: the figured-bass system, or the dualistic system. In the former, all chord structures are built ascendingly upon a bass as lowest tone; in the latter, all *major* structures are built ascendingly, and all *minor* structures are built descendingly. Here minor is the opposite or the reciprocal of major. The two triads are placed in opposition, and divide the harmonic system into two symmetrical halves. The ascending system, it is true, has been much more generally accepted than the dualistic system. But because no less an authority than Hugo Riemann—whose complete works on music stand unparalleled in versatility and thoroughness—has ably championed the dualistic concept, to say nothing of numerous other capable theorists; and then, also, because the dualistic principle, apart from its abstract beauty as a concept, does explain several troublesome tonal phenomena, a discussion of the real nature of the major and the minor triads, as bases of our music system, is not without value. Among other things, as I hope to be able to show, it may furnish us with the key to some interesting emotional reactions to music.

Tones sounding simultaneously may be reacted to in one of four ways: the tones may all occupy positions of equal importance in consciousness; they may be grouped with regard to the highest tone as principal tone; they may be so grouped with regard to the lowest tone; or they may be so grouped with regard to some intermediate tone.

Since auditory sensations are but one form of sensations in general, they must obey the laws of sensation. These teach us that the endpoints of any simultaneous series are more clearly impressed upon consciousness than intermediate points. Accordingly, the first and the fourth types of reaction to chords are excluded at once from further consideration, since the first demands equality of intermediate pitches with end-pitches, and the fourth,

preponderance of an intermediate pitch over the end-pitches. Both conditions violate the law of sensation just given. Nor, as far as I know, has any attempt been made to analyse our harmonic system on either of these bases.

This leaves three possibilities: tones are referred to the highest pitch as principal tone; to the lowest pitch; or to a tone or pitch which, according to the particular chord-structure, becomes either highest or lowest tone.

I know of no attempt to formulate an entirely descending harmonic system. Such a system would have to be based upon figured-discant or figured-soprano, just as the opposite, and generally accepted view, is based upon figured-bass. Intervals would be reckoned downward for all chords. The top voice, in a series of uninverted chords, would progress essentially in fourths and fifths (since the system is supposed to be based upon a series of undertones, as a mirrored projection of the overtone series). The lowest voice would be the equivalent of our melodious soprano. Such a conception of things offers no particular theoretical difficulty, but is in such violent contrast to the actual phenomena of hearing, that further elaboration of the scheme can well be dispensed with. The physiological reason for this contrast will be given later.

But the negative conclusion reached is important, because it gives us one proof of the fallacy of the dualistic theory. If, as the latter demands, minor is the opposite of major, both being of equal importance, with their difference determined solely by pitch direction; then a completely descending system would be as readily conceived, and would have been as widely used, as the ascending system. This is not the case. History furnishes us with no example of a completely descending system; while the almost universal adoption of the ascending system leaves no doubt as to a difference, *other than that of opposition*, between the reaction to pitch ascent and that to pitch descent. This is the basic theoretical argument against the dualistic principle.

What, now, can be said for harmonic dualism? In the first place, it explains the popular classification of major and minor as opposites, giving a completely satisfactory theoretical explanation of the structures of the two triads, either of which actually is the mirrored counterpart of the other. In the second place, it explains the generally accepted view of the subdominant as the under-dominant. For as soon as we conceive the three fundamental relationships: tonic, dominant and subdominant, with regard to the tonic as central point, S———T———D,

we accept the dualistic principle, which asks nothing more than this symmetrical distribution. (In a previous article,¹ I have tried to point out a non-dualistic function of the subdominant. A similar view is expressed by Gustav Strube in his *Treatise on Harmony*.)

The visual symmetry and beauty of harmonic dualism is best revealed by diagrams, of which I give only a few. Many others are possible.

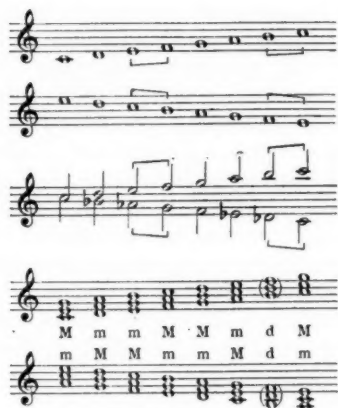


Fig. 1

Mathematically, we find the same symmetry. The ratios for the tones of the major triad are $1 - \frac{4}{5} \frac{2}{3}$, and for the minor $1 - \frac{5}{6} \frac{2}{3}$. Reducing these respectively to a common denominator and common numerator we get $\frac{4}{4} \frac{5}{5} \frac{6}{6}$ and $\frac{6}{6} \frac{5}{5} \frac{4}{4}$.

Theoretically, major intervals when inverted become minor, and minor become major. Again, major is undeniably softened by a minor dominant, and minor strengthened by a major dominant. Subdominant (the downward dominant) is like minor (the descending structure) in character. Dominant (the ascending relation) is more like major, also ascending. Hauptmann, for example, writes:

There is expressed in minor, not upward driving force, but downward drawing weight, We therefore find in the minor chord the ex-

¹THE MUSICAL QUARTERLY for July, 1921.

pression for mourning, the hanging boughs of the weeping willow, as contrasted with the aspiring *arbor vitæ*.

All these, and many other equally symmetrical relations, are true, and encourage the hunt for a dualistic basis. Nevertheless, musically, major and minor are not equivalent terms of opposite pitch direction. In support of this statement we have four kinds of evidence: theoretical, historical, aural and physiological.

If major and minor were equivalent in musical function in our musical system, they would find equal or nearly equal treatment by theorists. In one hundred books on harmony, that I examined, I found no instance of the treatment of minor preceding that of major. These works comprised books by German, English, American, French, Italian and Russian writers. The greatest number of them treat major as a distinct first. In several cases, even, inversions of the major triads and other dissonances of the major tonality precede the treatment of the minor triad. In other instances, major and minor are treated in the same paragraph, but always in the order named, while the preponderance of major illustrations leaves no doubt as to a difference in fundamentality between the two. Even authors who maintain that "both major and minor are equally agreeable to the ear," that is to say, who claim theoretical equality, show a preference in favor of major by the word-order and the examples used.

Concerning ascent and descent, the former in all the works precedes the latter. This applies not only to scales, but occasionally to tones and chords also. Thus Czerny gives the tones: tonic, dominant, mediant and leading-tone, and later, almost parenthetically, treats the subdominant and submediant. Other writers devote a chapter to tonic and dominant, and a later chapter to the subdominant. We find statements such as: "The minor triad is not as familiar to the ear or to the musical sense as the major triad. There still seems to be something remote about it." I hunted in vain for similar statements about major. If we add to this the primacy of major scales in music instruction, as a result of which a pupil who knows his minor scales but not his major scales is a *rara avis*, indeed, while the reverse is quite usual, one can no longer doubt the existence of a marked difference in the fundamentality of major and minor, and that of tonal ascent and descent.

Historical evidence in support of this assertion is given by the *Tierce de Picardie*. This concerns the musical function of the triads, that is to say, their relation to their environment.



Fig. 2

Progressions similar to that at A, Fig. 2, are frequently used by Bach, Händel, Mozart, and early Beethoven, whereas the progression at B, Fig. 2, is seldom, if ever, found. The close of Chopin's Nocturne in B major, Op. 32, No. 1, does not contradict this. Here the major tonality has been considerably weakened by the preceding harmonies. Even so, it is sometimes played, and, in some editions is printed, with a major close, which indicates that the strength of the major over the minor is sufficiently great to overcome even the minor preparation. The *Tierce de Picardie* is a concrete instance of the reaction to the minor triad as a dissonance, and to the major triad as a consonance. If to-day this difference is no longer clearly marked, the primacy of major in both theoretical and practical treatment, which I have attempted to point out, shows conclusively that this difference, although it may be obscured, still exists. Psychologically, it could not be otherwise.

The ambiguity often assigned to the close of the *Agnus Dei* in Mozart's Requiem, where the third of the final chord is missing, is not as strong as some writers would have us believe. Thus, had Mozart written the two preceding measures in major, instead of in minor, no one would ever react to the final chord as minor. And the greater fundamentality of major causes a leaning to the major close even in the form in which the phrase is written.

For similar reasons, many young pupils, before countless repetition has produced the needed familiarity, find the minor resolution of the dominant seventh-chord less satisfactory than the major resolution, whereas I have yet to find the pupil who, apart from complex associations, prefers the minor resolution to the major. These complex associations also account for the fact that if only the two triads, major and minor, be given for comparison as to agreeableness, the judgments will be almost equally distributed, instead of showing a greater percentage for major.

Whenever such complex associations are eliminated, the difference is always the same: major is reacted to as the more fundamental. And on the basis of vibration frequency it likewise

represents a simpler ratio. Music history, in passing from the Organum to the Fauxbourdon, and thence to the Picardian Third, places the major and the minor triads in unmistakable positions in the tonal system, in which the modern closes on the chord of the added sixth and that of the minor seventh add the next steps. So that in naming major and minor, we do not name two equivalent chord-forms, but two chords differing in their degree of consonance, and hence in their musical usefulness. The minor triad is a greater discord or a lesser concord than the major triad. They do not divide our music system into two symmetrical halves. Instead, they fit perfectly into intermediate points along the scale of consonance which begins with the octave and ends with the chord containing all twelve tones within the octave.

The fact that such a classification conflicts with the grouping of major and minor as imperfect consonances is of no importance. Fourths, fifths and octaves, for that matter, are all called perfect consonances, yet no one would maintain that the fourth is as perfect a consonance as the fifth, or the fifth as the octave. The difference in consonance between the major and the minor triads is no less real than these differences; it is merely of a less degree, and hence is more readily overlooked.

If further proof of the greater fundamentality of major be desired, this is furnished by the so-called popular music. No piece that has been distinctly popular, is in a minor key. (I exclude, of course the characteristic pieces, oriental and the like. Their appeal is essentially associative.) Popularity is, in a way, the equivalent of racial fundamentality; the more universal an appeal is, the more fundamental is the stimulus in the scale of human development. Popularity is miniature universality. Thus the prevalence of major points to its greater fundamentality. The fact that modern jazz often introduces the minor tonality, and other rich dissonances, seems to indicate that the time has arrived for the popular acceptance of these. But one must not forget that major has been accepted for a long time.

Aural proof against the dualistic theory is readily produced. In the two melodies given in Fig. 3, the melody in each case con-



Fig. 3

sists entirely of the same undertones and overtones of the harmonic series represented. I have included only the partials up to the sixth. Since the dissonance thus created is very mild, the melodies are to be played on the piano with the pedal constantly depressed without change for each melody. The difference in sound, both physically and æsthetically, will then show clearly that harmonic descent is in no way the counterpart of harmonic ascent. If it were, the two melodies would produce equal amounts of dissonance.

The most potent proof, however, of the fallacy of the "opposite-hearing" is given by recent physiological and psychological research. The extensity theory of pitch definitely puts an end to dualistic hearing. Either all tones are grouped in relation to the lowest tone as principal tone, or they are grouped with regard to the upper tone. But we cannot group some in one way, and others in another way. Pitch is by no means the only distinct attribute concerned in an analysis of tonal sensations. Tones, like all sensations, have "sensation-form,"¹ as a result of which low tones are more diffused and voluminous than high tones. The latter suggest lines or points, the former suggest surfaces or bulk. These attributes are inherent in the sensation, and cannot be excluded without destroying the sensation itself. The end-organ of hearing, that is to say, the sensitive surface which transmits the external stimulus to the nerve-endings, is determined by the shape of the cochlea of the ear. Straightened out, this may be diagrammatically roughly represented as in Fig. 4.

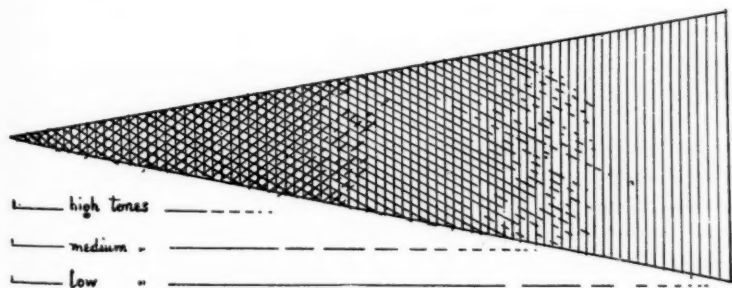


Fig. 4

¹The basis of sensation-form is the complex physiological sense-organ response to the three primary attributes: pitch, intensity and duration. Sensation-form, therefore, is the equivalent of the "quality" of a sensation. See O. Ortmann: "The Sensorial Basis of Music Appreciation," *Jl. of Comp. Psychology*, Vol. II, No. 3.

It is obviously impossible to turn this around. Even if we could reverse the pitch direction, that is, if we could hear the highest tone as fundamental, and the lowest tone as fifth, let us say, the lowest tone would still remain the "biggest," and the highest tone the "smallest." The attribute of volume would have to be reversed before the fundamentality of a tone could be changed. Consequently, true opposition, in the sense demanded by the dualistic conception, is a physiological impossibility. High tones involve a small part of the sensitive membrane of the inner ear, low tones involve a greater part, which always includes the part affected by the higher tones. One affected part does not lie adjacent to the other, but overlaps it in the manner indicated in Fig. 4. Failure to take into account the attribute of volume or sensation-form, accounts for the failure of the dualistic theory to meet the demands of actual auditory experience.

II

In thus proving the non-existence of auditory symmetry, we eliminate the need for explaining chordal balance, but at the same time we introduce other problems. For if minor be not heard as the counterpart of major, how is it heard? What is its true musical status?

Now tones are related in two ways, harmonically and melodically. Each relationship has two forms, primary and secondary. Primary harmonic relationship is that of a descending fifth (or ascending fourth). Secondary harmonic relationship is that of the interval of a third (the basic chord interval). Primary melodic relationship is that of chromatic progression. And secondary melodic relationship is that of diatonic progression.

Before proceeding with an analysis of these relationships with regard to the problem in hand, it is necessary to outline, very briefly, two phenomena without which any discussion of reaction to tones is at once removed from the field of actuality to that of pure theory. These are anticipation and the after-image.¹ Consciousness never consists entirely of a *what-is*, but also of a *what-just-has-been*, and of a *what-is-just-about-to-be*. To this purely temporal relationship must be added the associations resulting from the play of imagery, in accordance with which any sensory material may be linked with the material of imagery. Only by

¹After-image is used here not in its strictest psychological sense, but rather as the residue in consciousness of a tone-sensation just experienced.

taking into consideration imagination, anticipation, and the after-image, can the discrepancies be explained which will appear between the analysis I am about to make and the reactions which any musical adult usually considers normal. As a result of these influences the status of any chord, for any individual, is determined by the immediate and the remote tonal environment of that chord, as well as by the entire past musical experience of the individual. Yet in spite of the enormous differences which must consequently ensue, the validity of certain basic principles remains unshaken. These principles we shall now consider.

Since the major triad is the nucleus of our tonal system, the minor triad must be referred to this nucleus. The association may be harmonic, or it may be melodic. It must be one or the other, because only the major triad remains unreferred, as final goal.

Harmonic Relationship. The primary harmonic relationship of a descending fifth permits the minor triad to be referred to a major triad at the distance of a perfect fifth below. In this case the minor triad with its triad of resolution forms an incomplete chord of the dominant-ninth, with physically omitted, but imaginably supplied, root and third; while seventh and ninth are heard as after-images. (In the illustrations here used, black notes represent tones actually sounding; white notes those supplied by the musical imagination; and black-white notes the tones sounding as after-image.)

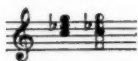


Fig. 5

The derivation from a major triad a fifth *above* is anti-harmonic, and is therefore omitted.

On the basis of secondary harmonic relationship (that of a third), we get six possible derivations for the minor triad:



Fig. 6

In Fig. 6, Numbers 2, 5 and 6 may be excluded from further consideration, because they form diminished and augmented triads, which are greater dissonances than the minor triad. Number 4 is excluded, because it forms another minor triad, and hence cannot

serve as a resolution. (The major triad C-E \flat -G of No. 4 is here excluded, because it involves *melodic* relationship.) This leaves, as possible secondary harmonic references of the minor triad, the major triad at the distance of a major third below, and the major triad a minor third above. Thus C-E \flat -G is harmonically referred to the major triad A \flat -C-E \flat , or the major triad E \flat -G-B \flat , as its goal (Fig. 6, numbers 1 and 3).

Melodic Relationship. Primary melodic relationship is based on chromatic progression. This gives three references as sources of derivation for the minor triad, Fig. 7. Of these the third may be excluded, since it, too, is a minor triad.



Fig. 7

For a similar reason, other possibilities, producing more dissonant chords, are not here given. The fact that melodic relationship involves tonal motion (horizontality), explains the fact that no tones are held in imagery, such as the black and white notes in the harmonic references.

Secondary melodic relationship, based upon diatonic progression, yields two sources of derivation, neither of which can be used because both form minor triads: Fig. 8.



Fig. 8

Mixed relationship, a combination of primary and secondary relationship, gives two additional sources: Fig. 9.

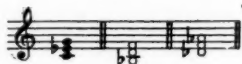


Fig. 9

This gives a total of seven possible goals for the minor triad. The tendencies involved are not equally strong, and we have next to consider the relative ease with which the associations function.

It is an accepted fact that, other things being equal, an objective stimulus holds the attention better than a subjective stimulus; that, in other words, material present to sense is more intense than material present to imagination. Accordingly, the more actual tones in common between the minor triad and its

source of reference, the stronger will be the association. The seven sources of derivation are given in Fig. 10.



Fig. 10

None can contain all three tones of the minor triad; 2, 3 and 4 each contain two tones of the original minor triad; 1 and 5 contain one tone each; 6 and 7 have no tone in common with the minor triad. On this basis the strongest associations are in 2, 3 and 4; the next strongest in 1 and 5; and the weakest in 6 and 7. Of the first group, 2 and 3 represent harmonic relationship, and 4 represents melodic relationship. If the minor triad be referred to 2, the tone G remains as after-image, and results in imagery, in a major seventh-chord which, as a rather sharp dissonance, is ill suited to function as a goal or a rest chord. If the minor triad be derived from 3, the tone C remains as after-image, giving the seventh-chord C-E \flat -G-B \flat . This is milder *per se* than the major seventh, but this advantage is outweighed by the fact that chords are reacted to as *standing upon* a bass, which makes the hearing of an intermediate tone (in this case E \flat) as root, difficult in a final chord. In chord 2, the actual root is also the lowest tone, an advantage which makes the upper tone G, as free tone, relatively unimportant. We may summarize, therefore, with the statement that, *harmonically considered, the true root of a minor triad is a major third below the given root.*

The remaining source of the first group is a major triad on the same bass tone (Fig. 10, No. 4). This is a melodic relationship. The essence of melodic relation is tone-succession, not tone-simultaneity. A tone passes into another tone and the impression of the first tone is correspondingly weakened. Therefore, in the melodic derivation of the minor triad from the tonic major, the E \flat , in the given instance, passes into E \natural , and does not co-exist in the form of an augmented unison. When to this is added the physical identity of the two remaining tones, C and G, the strength of this source of derivation becomes evident. At the same time, we know that in actual composition this relationship, tonic minor direct to major, is very rare indeed.

This rarity results from the operation of tonality. In no book do we find the major scale derived from the minor. The

reverse, however, is frequently met with, as we should expect from the subordinate character of minor. Now, this derivation is not made by raising the second and fifth tones of the major scale, but by lowering the third and the sixth tones. And the melodic tendency of a lowered tone is to descend, not to ascend. The ascent of the minor third, therefore, directly into the major third, violates this, its fundamental melodic tendency, and thus accounts for its rare use in this form. By introducing one or more chords between the minor triad and the tonic major, we cancel this unmelodic passage, and make the progression very acceptable, in the form of the Picardian Cadence. In conclusion, then, we may say that, *considered independently of tonality, a minor triad is melodically referred to its tonic major.*

Tonality likewise affects the readiness with which the harmonic derivations function, inasmuch as the true root may or may not belong to the tonality. In major, the minor triads are found on the second, third and sixth degrees. Their true roots are, respectively, the minor seventh, the tonic, and the subdominant. The supertonic triad, when heard in tonality, is not referred to its true root because the latter (B \flat in C major) is not present in the key. The mediant triad, on the other hand, is readily referred to its root because the latter is also the tonic of the key. That is why the progression Fig. 11, A, is equivalent to that at B.



Fig. 11

The root of the submediant triad is the subdominant, a tone of the key, the active quality of which, however, somewhat weakens its use as rest-tone for the submediant triad.

In the minor tonality, the minor triads are found on the first, fourth, and, in pure minor, fifth of the scale. Their respective roots are: minor sixth, minor second, and minor third of the key. The minor sixth, as an active tone of the tonality, somewhat weakens the reference from the tonic minor; the subdominant minor is not referred to its true root because the latter is not in the tonality. The reference for the minor dominant, if we allow for the rare use of this dominant form, is strong, since the root is the minor third (a rest-tone) of the key. Thus tonality, which is nothing more than the effects of anticipation and the after-

image, obscures and modifies the natural sources to which the minor triads would otherwise be referred.

The derivations 1 and 5, Fig. 10, are less strongly felt on account of the single tone common to the model and its derivations. In 1, Fig. 10, two tones, F and A, have to be supplied by the musical imagination, while two other tones, E \flat and G, remain as after-images in the form of the dissonances of a minor seventh and a major ninth. (Because of its still greater remoteness, I have omitted entirely the derivation from a major triad a minor seventh below the minor triad shown in Fig. 12.)



Fig. 12

The relationship Number 5 in Fig. 10, although it represents the highest type of melodic relationship (half-tone progression plus tonal identity), is weakened by the tonality conflict (C \flat and G \flat in c minor, for example). For the same reason, the third group of derivations is still weaker. They have the tonality conflict and lack both common tones and primary melodic relationship.

The final outcome of this consideration, therefore, is that the two most natural "goals" of the minor triad are the major triad at the distance of a major third below the given root, and the major triad on the same root. The first is a harmonic relationship, and the second is a melodic relationship. A study of the music of the classicists and of the early romanticists proves the truth of this. There we find the progression of a descending third (a minor—F major, for example) to be one of the most frequently used orders, both within a movement or period, and between movements. The melodic derivation of the minor triad from the major triad on the same root is shown by the frequency of the Picardian Close. Modern music cannot be used as a test, because here the basis of consonance—which, we must not forget, is a variable, not a constant—has already gone considerably beyond the minor triad.

III

One need not expect, after what has been said, to have these resolutions respected in listening to a complex musical composition. Too many other factors, not a few of which are very remote

associations, then tend to obscure and to modify these fundamental harmonic associations. But they cannot destroy them entirely. And it is not improbable that in the residue of natural tendencies, hidden beneath the more obvious aspects of the problem, we may find the key to some of our emotional reactions to music.

Let us take the emotional status of the minor triad as an instance. Minor has been described in many ways: sad, mysterious, melancholy, vague, veiled, dark, gloomy, indefinite, rough, dependent. If, now, we accept the minor triad as a dissonance, the striving for resolution will be accompanied by a feeling of "longing," from which the step to melancholy is not difficult to trace. Any roughness, or dependency in the minor triad, results from the residue of dissonance left; any agreeableness (not associative) from the amount of consonance (perfect fifth and major third) present. This combination also accounts for the veiled, mysterious, or vague character of the chord. The dissonance in the triad is so slight that the ear, so to speak, does not know clearly whether to place the triad with the dissonances or with the consonances. In other dissonances, and in consonances, a sufficient amount of either dissonance or consonance is present to eliminate any doubt as to the classification.

Again, the derivation of the minor triad from the major throws some light upon the emotional reaction to certain characteristic movement-sequences. One of the most interesting of these is the type found in Beethoven's *Sonate Pathétique*, *Sonata Appassionata* and the *Fifth Symphony*—to mention three well-known and beloved examples. The peace, restfulness and relaxation which one experiences with the introduction of the very first chords of the second movements, result from the subtle feeling of resolution—call it redemption if you like—of the closing minor triads of the first movements into the major chords of the second movements. In each case the progression is to the major third below (c minor to A \flat major). Psychologically, these first movements do not end with the double bars, but lead unbrokenly into the second movements, the first major chords of which are "Mündungen" (outlets) for the dissonant strain of the minor triads. And since resolution must be progress from greater to less dissonance, this progression is accompanied by a feeling of relaxation or repose. This is present before the slow tempi of the second movements strengthen it. No modulatory or connective chord is needed or wanted; the minor triad itself is the connecting link. Such things as this, and not the whims of the individual conductor, performer, or audience, should determine whether a

pause ought to be made between the movements of a composition.

If the conclusions we have reached are true, then we at least have some logical auditory basis upon which to build an analysis of some of our more complex reactions to music, instead of floundering around in the vague terminology with which this phase of music appreciation is so often discussed.

THE "SECRET" OF THE PIANIST'S BEAUTIFUL TOUCH

By DONALD N. FERGUSON

EVERYBODY knows that the name "pianoforte" was given to the wonderful instrument which succeeded the harpsichord in popular favor because the newer instrument was able to produce both loud and soft tones, with every gradation of intensity between, while the harpsichord had not this gradation of dynamics. The significance of this name has been largely forgotten, the remarkable qualities of "color" in piano tone having been so far developed that the mere distinction between loudness and softness seems but meagrely descriptive of the instrument's possibilities. Every listener to the great pianists is at least aware that far greater suggestions of color and flexibility of tone can be produced from the piano than can be accounted for by the mere power of variable intensity.

The pianist's command of color and flexibility we summarize in the convenient word "touch." The player who has the greatest command of them has, in our estimation, the most beautiful touch. The differences between pianists are extreme, and are pretty generally associated with *visible* differences in the physical processes of attack upon the keys. The pianist who has the most flexible tone generally has the most flexible attack, and a stiff or awkward attack is almost always associated with a hard or unsympathetic tone. So generally does this hold true that a considerable number of interested persons have come to the conclusion that character of attack and quality of tone stand in the relation of cause and effect, and that flexibility, therefore, or "relaxation" (which is the favorite term), will of itself produce beautiful tone, and is thus the secret of touch.

Even for the pianist, this conclusion is difficult to resist. The player who, by instinct or training, has acquired the beautiful tone together with the flexible attack, feels so intimate a correspondence between his finger-contacts and his tonal results that he is inclined to reject, upon the cumulative evidence of his own senses, any suggestion that it was not, after all, the poise of his hand, and the peculiar character of the contact of his finger with the key, which produced his result. Tone, certainly, he will say, is produced by

touch: is not character of tone, then, variable by character of touch? The physicist, he knows, insists that the nature of the piano action is such that, *with the finger-stroke alone*, nothing more than variations of loudness and softness can possibly be produced. This proposition seems an absurdity in the face of the fact that, in the player's whole sentient organism, the *quality* as well as the mere loudness of the tone was prefigured before the attack, and that the attack itself—the concentration of the player's whole tonal desire in an apparently percipient finger—did of itself color and modify the tone. Certainly, if touch and tone do not thus intimately correspond, most players of sensibility stand convicted of a prodigious illusion.

Yet the physicists, at least upon their own ground, are terribly hard to refute. They blandly insist, in the face of the most vehement protestation, that laws of motion, force and momentum are no more variable in pianos than they are in steam-engines. They examine the mechanism of the piano action, and find that it is a device for *throwing* a felt hammer against the string; that the speed of the hammer depends solely upon the speed with which the key is depressed; and that at the effective moment of the stroke—the instant, that is, at which the hammer strikes the string—it is no longer in contact with the key. The hammer, therefore, after it has been thrown, is as independent of the player as a ball or any other thrown object would be after it had left the hand. It has a constant weight, a constant substance, and a surface variable, according to the elasticity of the substance, only by the force with which it strikes. The only true variable is thus the speed of the hammer; and this, once initiated, cannot be controlled. The hammer rebounds instantly from the string. It cannot be made to remain in contact for more than the instant of the blow. Amplitude of vibration (which corresponds to loudness of tone) and hammer speed (which is the direct and only product, in the hammer, of key speed) are in completely calculable relation to each other.¹

As a *tone-creating* agent, the player has thus, in the action itself, nothing at his command but the speed with which the

¹It is because of this fact that the remarkable results are possible which are heard in reproducing pianos. The amplitude of the string's vibration is measured very accurately by electro-magnets, and the reproducing mechanism (in addition to a mechanical operation of the pedals which follows exactly the artist's performance) is chiefly concerned with producing as nearly as possible the intensities of stroke which gave the recorded amplitude. If it were possible to reproduce the strokes as accurately as they can be measured, no differences between the reproduction and the original performance could be detected. Analysis of the operation of this instrument will considerably support the contentions of this paper.

hammer leaves its bed on the way to the string. And it is apparent that variable speeds can produce nothing but variable intensities of tone.

With the key mechanism alone, the only effect the pianist can produce upon a tone once sounded is to silence it. This he does by means of the damper, which, when the finger is released from the key, falls onto the string, stopping its vibration. The damper may also be controlled by the pedal, with important effects upon the tone which we shall consider in a moment. Pressure, continued after the key is struck, produces no effect whatever upon the tone, since it neither re-actuates the hammer nor affects the damper. In spite of this, continued pressure may nevertheless be a significant value in the pianist's touch, as we shall see.

The stroke of the hammer gives the string a different displacement from that which it undergoes in the condition of free vibration after the stroke. The tone of the string at the instant of actuation thus differs from its tone after normal displacement has been attained. The harder the stroke, the greater is the departure from normal displacement, so that very heavy strokes give an impression of harshness, the time for the attainment of normal vibration being great in proportion to the intensity of the stroke. If the string be damped immediately after the stroke (as in staccato) the tone is thus of a different quality from that heard in longer-continued vibration. Because of the rapidity with which normal vibration is attained after the hammer-stroke, the length of time the key is depressed by the finger is here of great significance. For in addition to the relative harshness of the initial sound, there is a simultaneous noise, produced in the action itself by the concussion, which is ordinarily unobserved. This noise of course coincides with, and in heavy strokes materially intensifies, the initial harshness of the tone. Brittle or elastic staccato may thus be obtained by more or less immediate release of the damper. But it is of significance that every value in the character of the tone is here *created* by variable speed of the hammer, whatever value may be allowed to *develop* in the tone by application of the damper at an earlier or a later moment.

The most fervent believer in the miraculous efficacy of touch can hardly controvert these facts. Yet their inevitable meaning is that finger-strokes alone can produce absolutely nothing else than variations of loudness and softness, each tone having the initial harshness corresponding to the intensity of the attack. In

no other sense can character of individual finger-stroke be said to affect the character of individual tone.

If this is true, the actual physical value of *quality* must exist only as an essential and invariable concomitant of the vibration, at any given intensity, of the string. The physicist is also perfectly aware of the existence of this quality. He can demonstrate that it is dependent upon the existence, along with the fundamental vibration of the string, of fractional vibrations which give rise to sounds known as "overtones" or "upper partials." In the piano these are determined by such factors as the length, tension and quality of the string, the point at which the string is struck by the hammer, and the material and suspension of the sounding-board. None of these factors is under the slightest control of the player. It is thus doubly impossible that the stroke of the finger upon the key can have any direct effect upon the quality of the tone. So far as the individual key is concerned (and we must ask the reader to remember that we have so far considered nothing else) the sole question for the pianist's judgment is the speed of the hammer as it moves to the string. That speed depends upon the force with which the key is struck, and upon nothing else.

Unquestionably, much or little force can be applied to a key, whether the wrist be stiff or relaxed. Unquestionably, then, the same quality of tone can be produced by either method, *provided only that the calculation of force be the same in both cases*; for it is not to the finger-stroke that the quality is due, but to other factors, independent of the fingers.¹

If this is true, it is obviously a gross error to suppose that the beautiful touch is a direct product of the flexible or relaxed attack. This is not a denial that the beautiful touch exists: it is simply a denial that it is a *primary* product of relaxation. The physicist shows that the constitution of the piano action forbids us to conceive of the unaided finger as producing other than variable *intensities* of tone. The concept of flexible tone as a direct and necessary product of flexible attack is thus really an illusion. But the flexible, beautiful tone is no more an illusion than the rigid, ugly clatter of the unsympathetic pianist. To every sensitive listener, the beautiful touch is a fact; and our problem is to show that it can be explained with full recognition of the finger's limitation to simple variations of intensity.

We shall find these simple variations of intensity to be of unsuspectingly great value; but if, as we have seen, they do not

¹The value of relaxation as giving greater certainty to the execution of calculated intensities of stroke is not disputed, as will be seen.

account for color, we must seek for that value in other agencies. Though these are but two, we shall find the effect of their combination with the dynamic variety producible by the fingers to be responsible for an astonishingly great range of effect. The two agencies are the two pedals—the damper pedal and the soft pedal. (The “sostenuto” pedal may be excluded from consideration because its influence is practically identical with that of the damper pedal.) Though their operation is so simple as to be universally understood, it is necessary, for an exact estimate of their effect, to analyze their functions.

The damper pedal, when depressed, raises the dampers from all the strings, leaving them free to vibrate. This not only makes possible the playing, *legato*, of passages beyond the reach of the hand; it also affects significantly the quality of the tone. This influence is due to sympathetic vibrations.

These, as everybody knows, are vibrations excited in a string or other vibratory body not otherwise actuated, by the action of sound-waves from another source which is vibrating at a rate identical with that at which the body to be sympathetically excited is ready to vibrate. Except for the unisons, which are all struck by the same hammer, and which do not of course vibrate sympathetically, there are no two strings on the piano tuned to the same pitch. There are thus no sympathetic vibrations set up by a single string, of the same pitch as that string, with one exception to be noted in a moment. But the fractional vibrations of a string known as the overtones are strong enough in themselves to set up sympathetic vibration in the higher strings of like pitch with these overtones, though they are not usually audible from the vibration of the single string. Since it is these overtones which give *timbre* or quality to the fundamental vibration, it is obvious that with the damper pedal depressed, so that each overtone produces the sympathetic vibration of a string of like pitch with itself, the quality of the tone heard (in addition to its slight increase of volume) is greatly enriched.¹ When whole chords are struck the effect is much more perceptible. It is obvious that this

¹These vibrations may be observed in the following familiar experiment: Depress *silently* the key for C in the bass staff, and hold it with the finger. Strike the C an octave below, violently, so as to set up vigorous partial vibrations. Release the lower key. The higher C will be heard distinctly; and the fact that it is sounded by the string whose key is held is made obvious by releasing that key. The sound stops. The same experiment, performed with the next higher G, C, E and G, in order, will show that the whole major chord of which a fundamental is the root, is sounded by that fundamental. The experiment may be made in the reverse way, i.e., by depressing the fundamental *silently*, and striking the overtones. In this way they may be heard as a chord from the lower string. (The rest of the notes of the harmonic series are less clearly audible.)

value is not properly a value of touch at all. The effect of these vibrations on the color of the tone is so blended with the value of intensity given by the finger-stroke that the two are indistinguishable. (It will be recognized that the same conditions of finger-stroke and pedal, in combination, will produce identical color-results. Except that the pianist may occasionally add the pedal to a tone or chord an appreciable time after the stroke, or may produce a rapid *diminuendo* by the gradual release of the damper, or may allow the damper, through partial release either of the key or of the damper-pedal, momentarily to touch the string again, or may even, by a faint repercussion of the same key, after a sonorous stroke, cause the hammer itself to function somewhat like a damper, all of which are special effects, he gains no power of control *during* the continuation of his tone.)

The only other variation of tone is produced by the "soft" pedal. In most upright pianos this variation does not occur, for this pedal acts by moving the hammers nearer to the strings, and so merely shortens the course, and lessens the ultimate speed, of the hammer at its moment of contact with the string. In the grand piano, however, this pedal shifts the whole action slightly to the right, so that the hammer strikes only two of the three unison strings provided for most of the notes. This softens the tone, but it also gives rise to the sympathetic vibration of that unison which is untouched by the hammer—the only sympathetic vibration in unison with the fundamental which is possible in the piano. A different quality of tone results—the difference being more or less marked as a result of the different qualities of the instruments, and of different intensities of stroke—but this is dependent upon the instrument itself, and cannot be varied, beyond the limits stated, by the performer.

It is thus a fact beyond controversion that the pianist has at his disposal only those variations of tone which are due to different speeds of the hammer (which are variations of loudness and softness only) and those which are due to sympathetic vibration (for it is apparent that the pedals' effect is practically limited to these). The impact of the hammer upon two strings instead of on three (with the soft pedal in use) probably produces a slightly different tone-quality; but, as we have seen, the major part of the influence of this pedal is its production of the sympathetic vibration of the unstruck string. These possibilities certainly seem insufficient to account for the astonishing variety commanded by the great artists. Yet the physicist rightly insists that they are all that can be accounted for in the structure of the instrument, and that what-

ever effect is produced is, as a phenomenon of sound, explainable through these values, *because there is absolutely nothing else there*.¹ The piano is a machine, incapable of miracles; and it is the first object of an inquiry into the apparent phenomena of touch to establish positively the tonal resources of which the various types of touch present varieties and combinations.

But shall we, upon thus much of physical evidence, conclude that our sensibilities are in error, and that the great pianist is not doing what we think him to be doing? Are we really hearing nothing but louder and softer tones, plus a certain increment of sympathetic vibration?

So far as the physical evidence goes, this is certainly the truth. But the physicist, using the arguments we have just been summarizing, is talking about the physical qualities of sounds which, for the purpose of analysis, he is treating as if they were detached. The sounds produced by the artist, however, are not heard in this sense. They are heard, not as detached phenomena, but in relations of extraordinary complexity—as music. And in the heat of his indignation at the physicist for his cold and impersonal judgment, the sensitive listener fails to note that this is a very different matter.

For detached sound can under no circumstances be regarded as strictly musical. Musical sound has not only its physical value, but possesses also values due to its position in schemes of melody, harmony and form; and this value of meaning is something independent of the physical value of the tone in the scientific sense,

¹If the reader is in doubt of the accuracy of this statement, let him experiment, using any single tone or single chord, with the object of producing a variation of quality not accounted for by variation of dynamics, or of pedal values, or, of course, of both in combination. With single notes, without the pedal, he will see that successive strokes, of the same intensity, give identical results, no matter what may be the manner of the stroke. This equality of force is not easy to produce with strokes successively stiff and relaxed. The sense of muscular effort is greater, for a given force, with a relaxed stroke than with a stiff wrist: therefore the experimenter is likely to suppose that the really softer tone of the relaxed stroke is equal in intensity to the more easily produced "bang" of the stiff stroke. Only a machine could register with absolute accuracy the various intensities. But a fairly accurate judgment may be arrived at by carefully continuing the exact pressure of the stroke long enough so that the sense of movement in the striking arm and finger has disappeared, and only the sense of pressure is left. If the pressures, thus exactly continued, are exactly equal, the strokes have been equal in intensity. (In all such experiments one must be on one's guard against a distortion of the judgment through allowing the desire for a certain value to complicate the impression received.)

With successive chords the difficulty of observation is still greater. It will be seen that, for any accuracy of judgment, the force given to each note of a chord must be exactly repeated in successive strokes; for if one or more notes are played louder than the rest, a decidedly different value is obtained from that given by equal loudness for all the notes. It will be found very difficult to strike two whole chords with equal force, first by the stiff and then by the relaxed stroke.

The use of the damper pedal will be found to give a constant value of added richness to any note or chord, so long as the intensity of stroke is not varied.

though the two are so blended in performance that no analysis could be keen enough to separate them. It is therefore indubitable that our judgment of tone-value is compounded of physical and musical suggestions, and that for an accurate idea of the manner in which the pianist produces his tonal effect we must analyse the two values separately.

If we examine into the nature of musical ideas, and especially into the means by which those ideas are rendered, we shall find an unsuspectedly large portion of what we call musical *sense* dependent upon dynamic emphasis. There is here an irresistible analogy with language. The primary values of verbal or musical sense are conveyed by a logical arrangement of the elements—words or tones—composing the idea, though it must be noted that the syntactical relation of the parts of speech which, in verbal phrases, is sufficient to provide entire coherence for the thought, does not exist in similar logical successions of musical material, and a third element, which is decorative in language, but is essentially syntactical in music—the element of rhythm—is necessary for complete intelligibility. Nevertheless, for the fullest rendition of meaning, the phrase, either verbal or musical, *requires that its most significant element (whose significance is determined by the context) be given predominant emphasis in reading*. The other words or tones in the phrase lead logically toward or away from this predominantly emphatic element, some points of secondary stress, of course, occurring in longer phrases. This phrase-emphasis corresponds to the phrase-emphasis in speech, and, like it, is non-syntactical; but it is to be distinguished from the ictus which provides rhythmic coherence for the whole musical substance, and whose essential value as a factor in musical syntax we have just pointed out. Though these two types of emphasis often coincide, it is not in the least necessary that they do so; and this accounts for the extraordinarily careful dynamic reading which is necessary to guide the hearer to the full interpretation of a musical phrase. For in speech the kind of emphasis which is given by actual *loudness* is combined with that given by *inflection*; and so subtly are the two combined that the ear would be puzzled, even in ordinary conversation, to separate the two values. But verbal inflection is largely the result of changes in pitch. This type of emphasis is therefore not available in music, where changes in pitch are a significant part of the syntax of the musical sentence. The values realized, in speech, through inflection, must therefore be realized in music through dynamic emphasis. (This is perhaps not strictly true of music for the voice or for stringed instruments, where a *vibrato*,

which is a slight variation of pitch around the true tone, gives a value somewhat akin to that of inflection; but it is strictly true of piano music, in which the pitch of the notes is invariable.) In proportion, then, as this relative emphasis of successive tones is neglected in performance, the phrase loses in impressiveness, and, if the neglect be gross, in intelligibility.

Nor is this observance of the relative loudness and softness of the successive tones of melody sufficient for complete musical sense. In harmony, also, the relations of intensity are just as significant as in melodic sequences, though the dynamic *range* is of course less. In general, the loudest note in any chord is that taken by the most prominent melodic voice (a requirement of performance more frequently complied with in unfinished work than the more subtle demands of just phrase-delineation), while the next loudest is that taken by the bass, because it determines the inversion of the chord, and is necessary for harmonic intelligibility. The values of the other sounds are extremely variable, depending upon their dissonance or their proper value as parts of subordinate melody. The interpreter's business is to realize all these values of varied intensity, both in successive (melodic) and in simultaneous (harmonic) tones; and this not only in the single phrase, but in the relating of successive phrases and periods to each other.

It is of the highest importance for us to grasp this fact, *that the primary values of musical sense are realized through variety of dynamic emphasis.* For it is not only the syntactical values of primary rhythm, and the expressive values of melodic lines which exhibit cross-rhythm, that are dependent upon just dynamic rendering for their proper impressiveness. Color itself, or that which the musical apprehension receives as color, is far less an acoustically analysable affair of overtones together with their fundamental vibrations than an artistically perfect balance of intensity between that which is more, and that which is less, significant musically. The hearer whose attention is wholly (and properly) given to the unfolding of the musical idea will imagine that in the poignant declamatory phrase, for example, in which the melodic line is dynamically many degrees removed from its surrounding tone-substance, the melodic tones themselves have all the color; whereas, if precisely the same values were given without the context, and without the accompanying sounds, he would hear little more than stupid thumping. It follows that, unless the choice of color is based upon a sure discrimination of the primary syntactical or expressive sense of the tones, the result is an artistic blunder. Beauty of tone, then, depends less upon its intrinsic

acoustical quality than upon its fitness for the realization of the character of the passage to be played; and lusciousness has no more place in passages of a stern or noble character than inflexible strength or superabundant energy in an impassioned cantilena. But beauty of tone, in the piano, where continuous control of tone is impossible, is thus itself largely a matter of dynamic control.

If we have at all correctly assayed the value of dynamics in music we shall have shown that the piano key, with its complete limitation to the production of sounds of variable intensity, nevertheless endows the pianist with almost unlimited control over one of the primary elements of musical syntax. To strike all his successive or simultaneous notes with the same intensity is to destroy practically every value of syntax and sense in the musical fabric. To produce them, on the other hand, with perfect realization of the immensely complex values of relative emphasis which are implied in significant music, is the first essential of the beautiful touch.

If we add to this power of dynamic control a proper command of the resources of true color given by the pedals, we shall have taken account of all the physical possibilities of tonal variation existing in the piano. There is no need for further analysis of these. But the reader will rightly feel that in spite of the importance of these elements we have in them no complete explanation of the phenomenon of touch, if we understand that word as implying the whole musical effect of the performance. What we have so far said will explain, as dynamic and color values directly related to the physical nature of the instrument, effects of primary rhythm, phrase-delineation, and the distinction of melody from accompaniment; but it will not explain the peculiar addition to all these effects which renders the great artist's work significant. This, of course, is not in the piano at all, but is in the artist; but it is undoubtedly produced through those physical capacities of the instrument which we have noted, for there are no others; and these values, which to our ears *seem* a part of the quality which we call touch, require explanation before that term can be said to have been properly defined.

The complex impressions of musical beauty which we receive from the artist lead the imagination into so many fields that analysis at first seems impossible. For accuracy, however, and even for intelligibility, our impressions must be described in terms of sound as existing in known schemes of melody, harmony or rhythm; and from this viewpoint we shall find that we have to do with but a single additional fact, and that is essentially another

kind of emphasis, having no relation to the physical constitution of the piano, but of extraordinary importance in the suggestion of color and character. This is an emphasis created by the exaggeration of *time*-values, and is known as *tempo rubato* or, more exactly, as *agogic* emphasis. (It will be apparent from the fact that it is *time*-emphasis that it must be excluded from the physical analysis of tone.) This agogic accent may perfectly well coincide with the dynamic; and in a musical phrase properly executed it requires a considerable effort to disassociate the two. The basis of the whole effect is still the dynamic emphasis, for it is to this that the primary intelligibility of the phrase is due; but the *lingering* upon the significant note (although perceived together with the dynamic intensity given by the fingers, and the true color-quality given by the pedal, as a single musical value) is not a quality of the tone at all, but a quality of the musical idea.

In that music which admits of other than metronomic regularity of beat (and this means, in practically all music) this agogic emphasis, which may be very great, or may be so minute as to be hardly distinguishable, is not only available, but is necessary for the fullest suggestion of emotional vitality. The accomplished pianist uses it instinctively, without direct observation—nay, without consciousness—of the fact that he is using it. And it is probably here that we must look for the origin of the illusion that character of attack and quality of tone are more intimately related than can be shown by the physical constitution of the piano. If, using the same care as in determining the simple sound-values spoken of above, the reader will experiment with the object of separating the values of dynamic and agogic emphasis and of color due to sympathetic vibration, he will find, in his own performance, the truth of our contentions.¹ He will see that flexibility

¹Concrete illustration, though it can cover but a small area of the whole field of tonal effect which we are attempting to consider under the head of touch, will make our point clearer. Let us take the D flat Nocturne of Chopin, Op. 27, No. 2, as an example demanding the chief characteristics of the beautiful touch, and analyse the first five and one-half bars, containing two melodic phrases.

We shall first consider exclusively the problem of the fingers, and that, as we have seen, is purely dynamic. The first bar has no melody. Its dynamic values are, then, first, the purely syntactical accentuation, which determines the fundamental rhythm, and secondly, such relations of intensity between louder and softer tones as, in conjunction with the pedal (for we must imply omission or use of the pedal in our judgment of intensities), will provide clear understanding of another element of the musical syntax: that contained in the harmony. The first note is not only tonic of the key, but, in its low register, provides a fundamental sonority, with rich overtones, for the tonic chord during its whole continuance. It is therefore louder than the succeeding notes. The F and A flat following complete the chord and, in this bar, are the next most important notes. Because F is the third, and A flat only the fifth, of the chord, F will require slightly greater emphasis than its extremely weak rhythmic position would indicate. The rest of the measure (except that D flat at the 4th beat has secondary rhythmic value)

of attack is valuable only in so far as it makes his dynamic control more sure; that the pedal is responsible for much of the true color of his tone, and that dynamic variety in essential and subordinate notes accounts for the rest; that no amount of effort and no perfection of attack and pedal on a single note will give it the right sense if the rest of his phrase is badly drawn, or if the relation of melody and accompaniment be wrong; that the agogic emphasis is worse than useless if it be misapplied: that, in short, no *method* can give the secret of touch, but that this lies, where any rational person would suppose it to lie, *behind* the mechanism—fingers, wrists and arms—which is concerned with the physical act of touch.

is but the continuation of the same harmony, and will be played more softly, with only such minute emphasis of significant beats as will indicate the flexible 6-8 rhythm for the coming melody. The accompaniment requires no further remark until the 5th bar, where the new chord will be treated like the first one, but with due regard for its greater discord-intensity, and for the fact that the A natural must be given audible resolution to the B flat in the next bar. All these dynamic values must be presented in a tone soft enough to allow the melody to stand out clearly, yet loud enough so that they are a perceptible value in the whole ensemble.

As to the dynamics of the melody, the reader will perceive, first, that in each of the two phrases we are examining (one ending with A flat, the other with B flat) there are two notes which may be judged as of predominant intensity: F and A flat in the first phrase, B flat and A natural in the second. In each case, one of these must be chosen as of primary importance (the other being perceptibly less emphatic); for it will be found that equal intensity for both is destructive of flexibility and meaning, while, of course, equal intensity for all the notes would be simply senseless. But these phrases offer more than usual variety of interpretation, the predominantly emphatic note being usually indisputable. The most obvious reading would give F and B flat the prominent places. This has the disadvantage, however, of leaving A in the second phrase (harmonically the most intense note) with only secondary emphasis. If, however, this A be given its apparent value as primary note, it will perhaps be felt that A flat in the first phrase should be made parallel with it: especially since, with the tie, it is the longest note in the phrase, and the natural *diminuendo* of the tone offers a sort of poisoning-point for the ascent to the high B flat. This ascent is important because the second phrase is more intense than the first. In strict time (which we are for the moment supposing) dynamic stress at the end rather than at the beginning of the phrases gives a certain sense of inconsequence which the player will wish to avoid. No matter how perfect our management of the dynamics, the phrase still lacks flexibility.

But if we avail ourselves of the agogic emphasis, the difficulty vanishes. If we expand the first note of the melody in length, and make the accompaniment exhibit the exact outline of the rhythmic movement (by approaching *Ritardando*, and then gently increasing our speed to normal while F is still sounding), we shall compensate for the weakness of F and B flat in our chosen reading. For they will now be not louder but *longer* than normal; they will convey the impression of emphasis in a different sense from the dynamically intensest notes, and the melody will gain immeasurably in flexibility. This does not, of course, preclude rubato for other notes, and indeed makes the same style obligatory for the first bar. So that our first note, D flat, will now profitably receive additional time as a part of its emphasis.

All these values will need to be studied in conjunction with the damper pedal, for the employment of which the ear is the only possible guide, since the volume of the overtones produced varies with the intensity of the fundamental note, and the blending of tone, in complex masses of highly varied intensity, depends entirely upon the exact values which have been given, by the fingers, to the individual notes. If the right values have been given, the desired effect is automatically produced by the use of the pedal; but it will be seen that the question of right value is entirely a question of just relationship in the intensities of the tones, and that, except for the tempo rubato, *this is a problem in dynamics exclusively*

It would not be necessary to say all this if the idea had not somehow got abroad that the manner of the finger-attack is a primary, rather than a secondary, consideration in the production of tone. But it is lamentably true that a great deal of piano teaching not only begins and ends with the inculcation of the idea that an unrelaxed stroke is an artistic sin, but presents musical ideas to the student in terms of relaxation and of the application or withholding of weight. There is, of course, a great deal of essential truth in such teaching, for, as we have seen, the dynamic problem is of immense importance, and the relaxed condition is so much more conducive than the stiff attack to precise control of the force with which a key is struck that half-unconscious desires for quality of tone (which, so far as the fingers are concerned, means finely-judged loudness of tone) are often realized through the mere freeing of the arm and fingers from the restraints of tension; and the precise judgment of the necessary force must ultimately take the form of a judgment of "weight." But the beautiful tone is, in the last analysis, a product of the *desire* for that tone; it is inconceivable that it should be attained without that desire; and it is a gross failure of analysis to imagine it as a mere product of the relaxed attack. Instruction based upon such an idea, indeed, is vicious in the extreme, for it fixes the player's attention on the process of execution rather than on the idea to be realized through that process. This difference of attitude, though it may appear slight, is fundamental; and its analysis is essential to any complete sketch of the problem of touch.

Adequate artistic performance of a piece of music, it will be generally agreed, implies complete mastery of the technical problems involved, and, in addition, clear understanding of the structure and sense of the composition, and keen feeling for its emotional meaning. The object of study is the development of a certain mental condition, which may properly be called a habit, through which the player's conscious desire for the effects preconceived through study becomes the impulse or stimulus which initiates and guides the technical activity: this latter being, in the final stages of the habit's development, very largely automatic. But it is not necessary to confine the application of the word habit to the physical processes alone. It is also proper to describe the sequence of musical ideas—ideas, that is, of the identity, character, volume and relationship of successive tones and phrases—as habitual: the growth of the habit here being more or less accurately measured by completeness of memorization. This part of the habit is less automatic than the purely physical, and is more the

object of conscious consideration during performance; but the more the general outline of the musical thought becomes thus automatic, the closer becomes the amalgamation between the musical and the technical endeavors. Flexibility and accuracy in the control of complex dynamic intensities (which we have seen to be the sole problem of the fingers themselves) together with the control of pure color-values (accomplished by the pedals in conjunction with the sensitive fingers)—all these finely adjusted muscular operations must become so united with concepts of the value, succession and combination of sound that they arise spontaneously in response to the general musical desire.¹

In the formation of complex habits of this kind, the question of the *order* in which the elements of the habit are developed is of great import. It is possible for the player to consider the musical problem as primarily physical: to conceive his effects as the results of conscious command of the condition and operation of the playing mechanism of arms and fingers. He may think tone, that is, in terms of finger-movements. Or, considering the physical problem as secondary, he may learn to think tone in terms of tone, to which finger-movements are but the necessary correlative. The significance of this distinction is very great. For it really determines the character of the player's thought at the crucial instant—the instant before the tone is struck.

If the attention, during the learning of a passage, is given to the condition of the playing mechanism, and if this attitude is maintained for a long period before the question of musical value is raised, the primary character of the habit formed will be that of mechanical consideration. The tone-values will be very largely conceived in terms of finger-movement and weight distribution. And the consideration of the tone itself, *as an element of the musical idea*, will be largely posterior to the production of the tone: *it will not be mentally heard, that is, until after the key is struck.* If the

¹The physical activity, in its complete correspondence to the tonal desire, is generally superabundant, inducing many movements of the body which are without direct influence on the tonal result; but it should be recognized that these are in a large degree mimetic, and may serve to concentrate the player's attention more vividly on his actual tonal problem. Vibratory pressure of the key after it is struck obviously can have no effect on the tone; and continued key-pressure without the vibrato is of no more value. Nevertheless, *it may be very important as a guide to the intensity of the next stroke* which, in a legato phrase, stands in the very delicate dynamic relationship which we have noted to the note of greatest intensity. Gradual increase or diminution of pressure may thus give the pianist a sense—illusory of course, but still extremely valuable—of continuous control of his melodic line. For the execution of those movements which *would* continuously control the tone, if continuous control were possible, considerably stimulates and concentrates the player's imagination of his music as a completely fluid sound-substance; and this imaginative stimulus, as will be more clearly seen, is the primary requisite of beautiful touch.

attention, on the other hand, as soon as it is at all practicable, is given to the character of the passage and to the values of tone which will produce that character, the perception of the tone as it is actually struck—or the perception, rather, of the physical act of the stroke—throughout and in increasing measure as the technical facility increases, *will be preceded*, secondarily, of course, by a concept of physical movement, but *primarily by a highly intense imaginative concept of the desired tone-value*. The tone, that is, is *mentally heard before it is struck*, and heard in its proper relation to the whole musical idea. And in the last analysis we have here the “secret,” if it be a secret, of the pianist’s beautiful touch.

For if the pianist, maintaining the attitude we have just outlined, will but gain technical command sufficient for the realization of his preconceived tone, his “touch” thereby becomes the effective equivalent of all that is implied in his musicianship: his knowledge of form, his sensibility to the thousand shades of tonal intensity and color, his subtlety of rhythmic feeling, and above all his imaginative vision of the human significance of musically suggested emotion. The preposterousness of the notion that any mere manner of attack can be responsible for all that is here implied in the word touch is manifest enough from the simple consideration of the physical principles which govern the production of tone in our instrument. Relaxation, proper position, flexibility, and all the thousand details of a correctly developed technique, essential as they are, can only remove physical obstacles to the production of beautiful tone. They will no more produce it without the primary impulse of a keen imagination than the fingers themselves will produce effects beyond the physical power of the instrument. For the essence of beautiful tone is not in its pure acoustical quality, but in its fitness for the realization of the musical idea to be expressed; and the beautiful touch is but the representative and agent of the imagination which conceives musical sound in this sense.

The piano can produce tone of precisely such intensity, color and duration as the hammers, resonant substances and dampers provide. Though these elements of actual tonal effect are few, their combination, in very subtle proportions, gives results of great complexity, even when considered from the acoustical point of view alone. But when the element of *musical* interest is added to the acoustical, variations of tone take on a significance altogether disproportionate to their physical variety; and it is really in his power to provide this incalculable increment of musical significance that the pianist shows his possession of the beautiful touch. He

who would teach this quality, then, must free himself from the primary consideration of fingers and keys, and enter the illimitable regions of the imagination.

BÉLA BARTÓK AND THE GRAPHIC CURRENT IN MUSIC

By LAZARE SAMINSKY

IN company with Darius Milhaud, Alfredo Casella, Serge Prokofieff, Arthur Bliss and Francis Poulenc, Béla Bartók, the head of the neo-Hungarian school of music, is a leader of the reaction which has developed, not against Debussy, but against Debussyism. Together with his associates he is fighting, consciously or subconsciously, all those newer conventions which have been evolved by the post-Debussyan composers who incline toward pallid tints and saccharine harmony, rachitic form and lack of constructive thought.

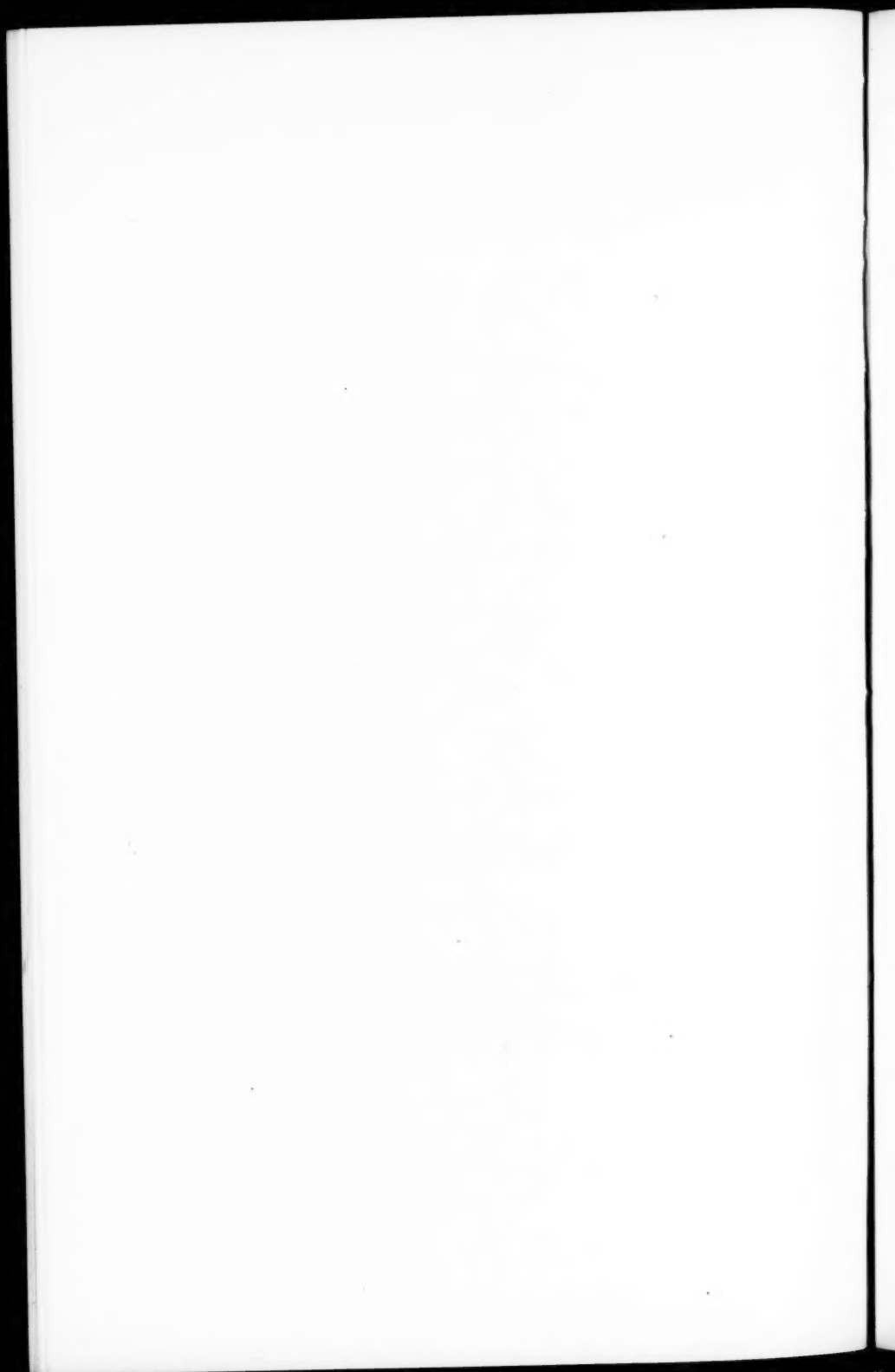
This modernist group, which counts Bartók, Casella, Milhaud and Prokofieff among its senior and Bliss and Poulenc among its junior leaders, is characterized—aside from its antagonism to what is summed up as Debussyism—by another distinctive feature which lends a very individual flavor to their artistic ideals and their creative efforts. This feature is the tendency to dispense with laborious experiment in musical creation, to ignore that painstaking effort to invent new things, a cult which Schönberg and Stravinsky have done so much to establish at the present time. For this ceaseless fashioning of new musical inventions is responsible for the creation of new conventions and new patterns in musical thought.

Just as the years immediately succeeding Debussy's death were responsible for dissolution of form, for musical structures of jellied outline and filled with pale impressionistic flavors, so Schönberg and Stravinsky, in their newer experimental phases, are responsible for the peculiar patterns of their own creation, patterns of polytonal harmonies, produced by the blending of harmonies belonging to various scales; for the overworking of the expressive capacity of the individual instruments; for exaggeration in the research of the small ensemble; and for the discarding (often quite unnecessary) of any trace of thematic development.

The younger group, which includes Bartók, Casella, Prokofieff and others, on the contrary, is committed to the abolition of *every* kind of new *cliché*, of every new stereotype form, the



Béla Bartók



coloristic, the impressionistic and what we might call the "experimentalistic" as well. Concision in design, linear clarity and clarity in linear development, the eternally abiding elements which lend the works of Scarlatti, Rameau and Mozart their perennial youthfulness, are the fundamental ones to which these new creators have recourse.

This purely linear element may be termed the "graphic" one, and its reappearance in music, it is interesting to note, corresponds to the renaissance of the same ideal in etching in the present day. These young contemporaries of whom we have spoken are doing their best to return to the past and recapture the transparency of design and structure which Scarlatti, Rameau and Mozart possessed. It need not be said, of course, that they do not invariably succeed. It stands to reason, too, that the abolition of experiment in music is responsible for certain primitive thoughts and barbarisms in the works of these composers.

It cannot be denied that a certain infantilism, a kind of primitive, childlike character, is in evidence in the inner construction and even in the very spirit of the music written by Bartók, Prokofieff, Milhaud and others of their group. Yet we do not feel that it is too much to say that this is merely a passing stage; and that eventually the clear and sound basis of development which their artistic ideals supply will be justified in the clearing of the musical atmosphere of all the cheap, third-rate impressionism with which uninspired disciples and weak imitators of Debussy have laden it.

If we abandon this viewpoint and cease measuring the value of music from an absolute standpoint, choosing an historical one in place of it, we cannot help but make some decidedly interesting discoveries.

The origin of this coterie of composers who make up what we might call the "Graphic Group" is an offshoot of a well-known historic current in the general stream of musical development.

In the European art of the past three centuries we meet with developments whose derivation cannot be traced back to purely European sources. The *chinoiseries* of Rococo art, the porcelains and potteries of Saxony and Rouen, the paintings of Claude Monet, Debussy's music, are all quite clearly foreign and disturbing factors in an art otherwise European, caused by early and late Oriental influences, Chinese, Russian and other.

Yet this fact is usually overlooked, owing to that species of misconception which Francis Bacon terms *eidola fori*, which means the images or impressions derived from and born of crowd psychol-

ogy ("born in public places, created by the crowd"). This false conception takes for granted that the later coloristic schools in European music derive from purely Eastern sources. Yet people do not seem to realize that the new art of design practised by Béla Bartók and his fellows, and their coloristic restraint also, owe something to the Orient; that restraint in color is quite as Oriental as is abundance in color.

That identical gift for clean-cut and poetic design which is inherent in the most highly cultured Mongolian races, especially in the Chinese race, the very same element which so exquisitely influenced the tender beauty of the early Persian miniature, again makes its influence felt in an altogether different field, in that of the music of to-day. This influence is exerted more or less directly, through the appeal which Eastern music makes to the contemporary mind when coming in some authentic form (as in the case of Henry Eichheim's "Oriental Impressions") straight from its Eastern source; and it is also exerted indirectly, as when filtered through Russian or other half-Mongolian channels.

The world does not seem to realize to what an extent Western music and its cherished melodic and thematic habits and customs already owe to races which are either purely Mongol, or else have been subjected to a strong infusion of Mongolian blood, races such as the Chinese, Finns, Hungarians and branches of some of the Scandinavian tribes.

In this connection we may note a very significant fact. That is, that the race whose new music, as exemplified by its outstanding representative, Béla Bartók, has pushed its way to the foreground in the contemporary musical development, is a Mongolian race; for the Hungarians are, racially, part yellow. Even more significant, and strongly supporting the idea that the new "graphic" element in music comes from the Orient, is the discovery which we owe to Béla Bartók's study of Hungarian folk-melody. The composer, after much time spent in research, found that the quasi-Hungarian and would-be coloristic element contained, for example, in the Liszt "Rhapsodies," has nothing to do with the genuine Hungarian folk-song. And Béla Bartók and that other notable representative of the neo-Hungarian school, Zoltan Kodály, in their valuable ethnographic collection of Hungarian folk-songs and folk-dances, as well as in their original compositions, have freed Hungarian music from the weak and muddy element of a cheap orientalism rooted in Gipsy, Roumanian and other exotic admixtures, for whose introduction into Hungarian art Franz Liszt was so eminently responsible.

Let no one rush to the conclusion that Béla Bartók has used the folk-tune in original work *à la* Grieg. True, he has liberated Hungarian music from its banal orientalism and its tawdry colorism. He has accentuated its Mongoloid foundation and its genuine graphic elements. Yet he has by no means been chiefly a *cultivator* of folk-song in composition. Rimsky-Korsakoff has been quite as incorrectly accused of the same thing.

Leigh Henry, the brilliant London writer-composer, says of Béla Bartók, that though he employs certain scale- and form-elements proper to Hungarian music, "such a procedure no more renders his music archæological or conventionally *national*, than does the employment of the ballad form by Rossetti, of the sestina by Swinburne, of certain verbal reiterations by Maeterlinck, of certain images by Van Lerberghe and Claudel render the work of such writers mere imitations of the troubadours and the Renaissance." Yes, Leigh Henry's words are indeed true. Béla Bartók is most decidedly a son of a race whose mind and taste are directed primarily toward clearness in design, rhythm and construction. He is, musically speaking, a finished and exquisite specimen of the Mongolian type, both racially and spiritually.

Individually, this creator of two excellent string quartets, an opera, "Die Burg des Herzogs Blaubart" ("Duke Bluebeard's Castle"), a ballet, "Der hölzerne Prinz" ("The Wooden Prince"), and the collection of Hungarian folk-songs, is by nature highly individual and austere. He likes calm, seclusion, meditation. And his creations are personal and intimate to a degree attained by few others in our day. Its design and the structural quality are the strongest features of that remarkable work, the Second String Quartet, though it is not quite free from a certain infantilism in form and in thematic invention.

Béla Bartók is one of the few among the blatant group of younger modernists who does more than merely create noise. What he writes recommends itself by reason of elements of form, design and polyphony which are really and truly new. And Béla Bartók's liberation of his native Hungarian art from less desirable Gipsy, Roumanian and Slav elements may be looked at in a larger as well as in a more narrow way. From a broader standpoint it is highly significant in view of the great racial revival in musical art to which I already have alluded. That militant and empty nationalism which is so artificial and external is on the wane. It is yielding place to a nationalism true and sincere, a peaceful and cultural race-consciousness.

In sum and substance the work of Béla Bartók is a remarkable phenomenon of racial integration and racial manifestation, a clear and illuminating sign of the inner will, which the art of the present day aims to show forth. In his music speaks that truth which will not be denied: *Art ever yearns to hark back to its real and eternal source, the race!*

FOR A REVERSION TO OPERA

By EDGAR ISTELE

THAT peculiar form of scenic art which presents a dramatic action with the coöperation of song, orchestra, and dance, has undergone manifold stylistic changes in the course of centuries, and has, accordingly, been called by different names. Of these names, "opera" and "musical drama" (music-drama) are generally accepted as most characteristic for the two extremes in which, on the one hand, music is predominant (opera), and, on the other, the dramatic action is the controlling factor (music-drama). This form of stage-play, with which, toward the end of the sixteenth century, a few highly talented dilettanti in Florence sought to revive the antique tragedy, began its career as musical drama. This appears quite natural if it be remembered that the new art (the "new music," as it was then termed) was nothing else than a rediscovery of individual (solo) song—the *monodie*, which had been temporarily overwhelmed by the contrapuntal deluge of the Dutch composers. It is equally comprehensible that this tentative musico-dramatic style (*stilo rappresentativo*) avoided melody, in the modern sense of the term, and maintained a purely declamatory character, its prime object being to exhibit unequivocally the fundamentally dramatic nature of this "new music." It is, however, remarkable that even in these very first attempts representatives of two divergent tendencies came forward—Peri, the strict dramatic composer, and Caccini, whose previous vocal training soon influenced him to introduce coloratura, that is to say, a purely musical element. In the sequel, these two tendencies alternated periodically, an over-severe assertion of the dramatic principle being followed by a period of exuberant music, this in turn giving way to the predominance of a decidedly dramatic era. The two foremost protagonists of the dramatic style were the "reformer" Gluck and the "revolutionist" Wagner. Gluck's reform was directed only against the aberrations of the "Neapolitan School" immediately preceding him, which had proclaimed the absolute and sole sovereignty of *bel canto*, and thereby instituted a principle directly opposed to the original conception of the scenic form, a purely dramatic type. By his reform, therefore, Gluck simply reëstab-

lished the original tendencies, but left untouched whatever was good, including the form which the Neapolitans had developed, discarding only the excrescences. So he was no enemy of "conventional" form as developed organically and logically during two centuries. How clearly Gluck's contemporaries had already recognized the important factor in this periodical alternation, is shown by an almost unnoticed letter of November 5, 1774, from the poet Herder to Gluck:

The great dispute between Poetry and Music, which has brought these two arts into such an antagonistic attitude, arises from the question, Which of the twain shall be the servant, and which the master? The musician wants his art to control, the poet champions his, and so they often obstruct one another. Each desires to create something complete and beautiful, and frequently forgets that he should provide only one part, so that through coöperation the two may produce a Whole.

On the heels of Gluck's reform came another period of musical supremacy, reaching its unsurpassable culmination in Mozart's works. Here an ideal balance is maintained between music and poetry such as never was attained before or since. While Gluck's reform, in Paris, aroused the heated controversy between the partisans of Gluck and those of Piccinni, Mozart succeeded by his unrivalled genius in combining the advantages of both tendencies in the art (that of Gluck and that of the Neapolitans), thus presenting the world with his immortal masterpieces. Against the tendencies of Mozart's successors, Italians who proclaimed the virtuosity of the singers as their be-all and end-all, and against the Parisian Grand Opéra, which had gradually exaggerated the employment of lavish decoration, vast choruses, and extravagant ballet;—against this Romanic operatic activity Richard Wagner poured out the vials of his wrath, despite the fact that for full half his life he had been learning his most effective technic from the models so unsparingly denounced. Wagner, who otherwise found his *point d'appui* mostly in the German romantic opera (Weber, Marschner), formulated "the essential contradictions of the entire genre" in his essay, "Oper und Drama," as follows:

Absolute, wholly self-sufficient melody, and consistently faithful dramatic expression—one of these must necessarily be sacrificed, the melody or the drama. Rossini sacrificed the drama; our noble Weber sought to restore it (in "Euryanthe") through the power of his more pregnant melody. He was fated to find his aim impracticable.

Having thus, from the failure of Weber alone, deduced the bankruptcy of an entire art-form developed in the progress of centuries by the best minds of all nations, Wagner was misled by this

remarkably illogical conclusion into making the bold declaration, "I shall write no more operas." Thenceforward not only the form, but also the name of the art-form, was to be proscribed; and, as Wagner later found the term music-drama more or less objectionable, he gave his works to the world either without a name or with the caption "*Handlung*," "*Bühnenfestspiel*," etc. This was the more remarkable because he had once made the surprising admission that the opera had not only been his point of departure, but also 'the real womb of his conceptive powers.'

In order to explain these strange contradictions, and to exhibit the essential character of Wagner's musico-dramatic "revolution" as contrasted with the earlier opera-form, we shall have to follow the development of Wagner the opera-composer up to the point where he resolved to stop writing "operas" down to the time when he declared war upon "form," upon "convention." In so doing he doubtless found a style suited to his genial individuality, but, for the period directly following, he condemned the art-form itself not merely to formlessness, but to a total lack of style (in Bizet's witty phrase, "*sans forme pas de style*"), so that thereafter we can perceive new possibilities of development solely in a sensible return to the old form.

In Laube's "*Zeitung für die elegante Welt*" the twenty-one-year-old Wagner published anonymously in 1834 an essay on "*Die deutsche Oper*" which has attracted very slight attention. On comparing the so happily expressed ideas therein contained with what the later Wagner taught and did, we wonder how such a flat reversal of opinion could be possible. Indeed, it excites our wonderment still more, that Wagner should then have told his contemporaries truths which apply with far greater force to his successors, imitators, and exaggerators. What he says here about the "German opera" of the year 1834 is in every point applicable to "*Salome*" and successors:

What meticulous cleverness of declamation, what anxious utilization of this or that instrument for supporting the expression of some particular word! Instead of flinging out their emotion with one bold, telling sweep, they fritter away the total impression with petty details and detailed pettinesses And when their hearers, at the end of it all, have to confess that they have understood none of it, said hearers find a certain satisfaction in being able to consider it amazingly learned and worthy of vast respect.—Oh, this unhappy learnedness, the fount of all German ills! . . . The truly learned man is he whose learning one does not notice. Mozart, to whom the most intricate counterpoint was as second nature, derived therefrom simply his masterly independence—who thinks of his *learning* while listening to his "*Figaro*"? But that is

precisely my point—he was a scholar, now they want to show off their scholarship. But when a composer seeks to wrap himself up in his scholarly nimbus, it is no less ridiculous when his hearers try to look as if they understood and liked such learned pabulum.

I do not mean that I should wish to see French or Italian music supersede our own, . . . but we ought to recognize what is genuine in both, and beware of all hypocritical selfishness. We ought to cast off the weight of rubbish that threatens to stifle us, and rid ourselves of a good deal of affected counterpoint . . . become human beings, at last. Only when we grasp the matter with a freer and lighter hand may we hope to shake off an age-long reproach that fetters our opera-music. For why is it that no German opera-composer has scored a success for so long a time? Because not one has known how to win popular approval, not one has laid hold on warm, true life. We must seize the present moment and endeavor to develop its new aspects in a rational manner. And the Master will be he who writes neither in the French nor the Italian style, nor as a German, either.

This profession of faith in an international or even super-national operatic art was, strangely enough, disavowed by Wagner in later years. That he was then actually ashamed of this pronunciamiento, wherein there is found so frank a criticism of his own subsequent tendency, is shown by the singular fact that he did not include this admirable, vigorous essay in the edition of his Collected Works—no one was to know that the creator of "The Nibelung's Ring" had himself once harbored such heretical thoughts. Similarly, in the reprint in his Collected Works of his "Autobiographical Sketch" ("Zeitung für die elegante Welt," 1843, No. 5), he deleted certain sentences in which he had criticized his operatic firstling:

In the separate vocal numbers we do not find the free, independent melody in which alone the singer can be effective, whereas the composer robbed him of all effectiveness by petty details of declamation. A drawback with most Germans who write operas.

Thus the later Wagner decried what he formerly had worshipped and worshipped what he had decried in his youth. The very style that he criticizes here became his point of departure, and the man, whose ideal had once been the universal Europeanism of Mozart and Gluck, strove at all costs to be a national German. . . . This also (apart from personal reasons) gives the clue to his totally altered attitude toward Meyerbeer, whom Wagner lauded with expressions of the highest admiration during his first sojourn in Paris, but afterwards overwhelmed with scorn and contempt. Thus he originally praised the German Meyerbeer, though celebrating his Parisian triumphs, as follows:

Meyerbeer has written world-history, a story of hearts and emotions; he has broken down the barriers of national prejudice, annihilated

the narrow bounds of linguistic idioms, written deeds in music—music such as Händel, Gluck and Mozart wrote before him—and they were Germans, and Meyerbeer is a German. And should we ask, How was it possible for this German to avoid the emotional toils of one or another generally accepted national mannerism, instead of losing himself therein after a brief hour of glory?—how he escaped enslavement to foreign influences? He held fast to the German heritage, ingenuousness of feeling, chastity of conception. So it would almost seem, that German genius is fated to seek among its neighbors what it does not find in its mother country; but, finding it, to raise it out of its narrowing confines and thereby to create something universal, for the whole world.

Thus those Germans were presented as his ideal who, like Händel, Mozart, Gluck and Meyerbeer, expressed their national feeling in the refined forms of speech of the Romanic nations, and so created a universally human, supernational art-work. Wagner himself might have achieved this, but one day even he was possessed of the "German devil," he, too, became "learned," overmastered by the polyphonic orchestra, counterpoint, and the scheme of leading-motives; he philosophized, politicized, theorized, and gradually drew away from his youthful ideal, the international vocal opera, and drifted into the ostensibly national-German music-drama with its overlaid orchestration. But how explain all this?

In Wagner's first opera, "Die Feen," the Germanic types predominated; in his second opera, "Das Liebesverbot," Italian; whereas, the third, "Rienzi," Wagner's first great stage success, was wholly under the influence of the French "grand opera." Wagner, from his later standpoint, considered this a disadvantage; while composing "Rienzi," he asserts that he "still stood on the more or less purely musical, or, rather, operatic standpoint."

... From a purely artistic point of view, this grand opera was like the glasses through which I saw my *Rienzi* material; in this material I found everything valueless that could not be seen through those glasses. My artistic individuality was, as regards the experiences of life, still entirely obsessed by the effect of purely artistic impressions or, rather, impressions of art-forms imposing mechanical restrictions.

In the sequel Wagner, ashamed of the "opera-glasses," sought to transform his "Rienzi" into a drama by substituting, in his "Schriften und Dichtungen," a division into scenes for the earlier numbers. Hardly anything is gained by this, for the inner construction remains just what it was; it merely goes to show that the genial instinct of the composer, then not so much given to reflection, had hit the mark dramatically while he still was gazing through the "opera-glasses." After finishing "Rienzi" while still

in Paris, Wagner (as he says) entered upon a new path—"that of revolution against the public presentation of art-works, to whose conditions I have hitherto tried to reconcile myself, coming as I did to Paris to meet its most brilliant exemplar." Meantime something important happened to him, in his own words "perhaps some profound agitation, in any event a violent revulsion, to which longing and disgust alike contributed." Now let us see whether Wagner did not in after-years mix essentially different matters together, with intent to deceive concerning the time and cause of his aversion from the opera-form. It is certainly quite incorrect when he asserts that he entered upon the path of revolution when he finished "*Rienzi*" in November, 1840. In Wagner's phraseology this word "revolution" plays a very ambiguous rôle; he employs it in such a way that one is never sure whether it is meant in a political or artistic or purely human sense. Politically considered, both "*Das Liebesverbot*" and "*Rienzi*," with their ideas inspired by the July Revolution (1830), are already revolutionary dramas. Notions like that of the "emancipation of the flesh" ("*Liebesverbot*") and of "freedom" ("*Rienzi*") were then buzzing in every head, and it is certain that Wagner was not inspired by "*Rienzi*" simply as material for an opera (as he declared later), but composed regular popular speeches when he chose the last of the Roman Tribunes as his hero. For all that, these two operas of so revolutionary mien followed throughout the decorous ways of the good old opera as theretofore marked out by the Italian and French masters. It never occurred to Wagner, however revolutionary he may have thought himself at the time, to institute any radical changes in the conventional opera-forms which functioned so admirably from a professional viewpoint, freely as he may have handled them until then by virtue of the right of genius to modify traditional forms organically in conformity with the dramatic material. And now, when—in this same Paris—the "violent revulsion" took place, that revulsion which led up to "*The Flying Dutchman*," it again did not occur to Wagner to alter the fundamental form of the opera. However "revolutionary" (in the human sense) the tone-speech of the *Holländer* might seem in its self-assertiveness, it was after all merely a reversion to Wagner's earliest prototypes—*Marschner*, *Weber*, *Beethoven*—a return to the ideals which he had unsuccessfully courted with his operatic firstling, "*Die Feen*." He only substituted one type for another; the form—the opera-form—remained intact. Whoever doubts this should take up the score and study its divisions and subdivisions. The first act consists of

three "numbers," the second act also of three, and the third of two. Acts II and III even have grand Finali further subdivided within themselves; besides this, there are Arias, Lieder, Scenes, Duets, etc.—in short, all the requisites of the old opera, whose members are admittedly treated with great freedom when occasion serves. Wagner (as he later expressed it) was still hampered by his "subconscious knowledge of the traditional opera-form," and recognized that "a bit of opera" still lay embedded in the "Holländer." Was this really so shocking? Did not this "subconscious knowledge of the traditional opera-form" save Wagner, in his later course, from going so far on the wrong track in practice as he once in a while did in theory? At all events, one thing is clear: in this case we cannot speak of a "revolution" either politically—the present plot has nothing to do with politics—or artistically; in an artistic sense one might rather speak of evolution than revolution. And humanly speaking? Well, it was simply a turning away from the sensuous delights of the brilliant Southland, and an inclination toward the brooding melancholy of the moody North. But, considered from yet another angle, Wagner thought that, with the "Holländer," he should date the turning of a new leaf. "From here I began my career as a poet, therewith renouncing that of a manufacturer of opera-books." Was the "Holländer" text already so finished a poem that it could be thus contrasted with the "Rienzi" book, somewhat more negligent in details, but so highly effective on the stage? I hardly think so; in this respect, again, I seem to perceive more of evolution than of revolution, although Wagner had reasons for making us believe the contrary.

While "Rienzi" was a great hit, "The Flying Dutchman" at first—for obvious reasons—proved a failure. This sombre drama, with its rather monochromatic music, repelled the public. From this point two ways were open to Wagner—he might have returned to the style of "Rienzi," in order to ensure further successes (this was repugnant to his "inmost soul"), or he might have continued in the mode of "The Flying Dutchman," so as gradually to accustom his audiences to that genre of opera (against which the stage-expert in him revolted). He chose a third way. He combined his earlier brilliant points with the depth of expression attained in the "Holländer," and produced, in "Tannhäuser," the work which is, perhaps, to be considered his happiest exploit, and is assuredly the most natural and temperamental (so long as he left it in the original form—not in the "Paris version" *à la* "Tristan"). How little he was guided by "principles" when entering upon his "new path" with the "Holländer" is shown by the fact, that he actually

came near creating a new work either in the style of grand opera or similar in tendency to the "Holländer." "Die Sarazenin," a very effective dramatic sketch, gravitates toward "Rienzi"; "Die Bergwerke von Falun," a second sketch, from E. T. A. Hoffmann, toward the "Holländer." Only after the emergence of the new Tannhäuser story did he decide to undertake something of a wholly different sort—but once again altogether in the forms of the German romantic opera, though brilliantly combined this time with the technique of the Romanic grand opera. The traditional operatic scheme is still discoverable in "Tannhäuser," although Wagner for the first time adopted from the outset the division into scenes instead of numbers. And yet the form of "Tannhäuser" shows but slight departure from that of the old opera, as Wagner himself declared when he remarked that he had taken a longer step from "Tannhäuser" to "Tristan" than from his earliest standpoint (the opera) to "Tannhäuser." Therefore, despite not a few developments of the inherited opera-form, "Tannhäuser" still stands on that foundation. Here the chief innovation was that Wagner did not require sensuous beauty of tone from his singers as a *sine qua non*, but characteristic representation, a demand which, as "Tannhäuser" itself shows, can find realization within the limits of the opera-form, and does not necessarily lead to a disruption of that form. Wagner showed this still more clearly in "Lohengrin," formally his most felicitous creation, whose stylistic finish extorts our highest admiration. Here a clever and nicely discriminative compromise is struck between the forms of the old opera and Wagner's new desiderata. This is plainly proved by a comparison of the duet between Elisabeth and Tannhäuser (Act II) with that between Ortrud and Telramund ("Lohengrin," Act II). For the Tannhäuser duet is still quite "operatic," whereas the Lohengrin episode can no longer be looked upon as an opera-duo, being rather a free scene, although it does not lack an opera-like close. A comparison of the second finale in "Tannhäuser" with the first in "Lohengrin" results similarly. The former is just a wholly conventional opera-finale; the no less operatic finale in "Lohengrin," while breaking loose in certain details of musical expression (absence of binding thematic unity) from the traditions of opera, nevertheless remains—from the standpoint of the later Wagner—an opera-finale, patterned, as Wagner himself once pointed out, after Spontini. "Tannhäuser" and "Lohengrin" differed in principle from the old operas only in one point—that the transitions between the separate opera-forms were more and more firmly knitted, so that the purely

musical divisions (still visible behind the veil) became less prominent than the scenic divisions with which they generally coincided. But Wagner had followed this procedure so instinctively that he (as he assured Liszt on May 22, 1851) recognized only in the *completed* works ("Tannhäuser" and "Lohengrin") the direction in which involuntary instinct had driven him. Be that as it may, he had already made up his mind before then to try experiments:

It is unquestionable that we have by no means attained the highest and truest in opera—not as regards its purely musical side, but as a dramatic work of art viewed as a whole—and in this sense . . . I look upon my present and projected works as mere experiments to test the possibility of opera.

Thus wrote Wagner on January 1, 1847, to the student Eduard Hanslick, afterwards one of his most strenuous opponents. This was precisely the time when Wagner had begun work on "Lohengrin," the score of which was not completed until March, 1848. He himself avowed that, with "Lohengrin," he had carried the tendencies developed in "The Flying Dutchman" to their necessary conclusion. As the distinguishing characteristic of the Lohengrin score Wagner stated on September 9, 1850, in a letter to Zigesar,

that it presents itself as a Whole coherent in all its parts, not as an agglomeration of manifold members of various kinds. The author of this work does not aim to shine merely by the effect of the individual musical numbers, but would have the music therein employed solely as the most intensified and all-embracing organ of expression for what he intended to express—the Drama.

In the case of "Tannhäuser" Wagner had found that his theatrical successes had been due "till then only to the pleasure given by lyrical details"; he thought this impossible in the case of "Lohengrin," but again deceived himself. All his life he strove against this "opera-like" delight in lyrical details, which to his mind was undramatic; failing to recognize that this point is a psychological phenomenon on which the actual musical stage-success depends and, in fact, must depend. To be sure, only the dramatic effect of any individual piece of music ought to justify its success—not its purely lyrical effect. Even so, does it prove anything against Wagner's ability as an opera-composer that, for example, the "Song to the Evening Star," so admirably placed in the drama, and in no sense "interpolated," also produces its effect on the general public apart from its dramatic connection? Wagner was displeased by that which other dramatic composers (such as Verdi,

for instance) were accustomed to consider a sign of great success. Perhaps it was this displeasure that impelled him to an ever-increasing restriction of the use of such "lyrical details" in his works, and in their stead to divert his audiences "dramatically" (?) with endless expository recitatives. Wagner's later principles were, in fine, not at all new; their sole novelty lay in exaggeration. As early as 1600 Giulio Caccini (in his "Nuove Musiche," Florence) proposed to "introduce a new dramatic music which makes it possible to speak musically, as it were, by practising a certain noble disdain of song" (*nobile sprezzatura di canto*). Mark, well the phrase "noble disdain"—not, by any means, a suppression of song in favor of pure declamation. Gluck's remark is also familiar: "When I go to my writing-table to compose the music of an opera, I always make a vow to forget that I am a musician." This likewise frequently misinterpreted observation does not mean, however, that Gluck composed unmusically (his scores prove the contrary); it simply signifies that Gluck wished to sink the absolute musician in himself that he might be exclusively the dramatic composer. Would that our modern composers, who produce either symphonic poems or chamber-music on the stage, might at last laboriously win through to this conception! The true relation between musical and dramatic requirements was taught, withal, by probably the greatest opera-composer of all times—Mozart:

Why is it that the Welsh (Italian) operas please everywhere? With all the rot they put in the books? Because the music has full control, and makes one forget everything else. And an opera must please all the more when the plot of the piece is well worked out.

And elsewhere:

In an opera the poetry must, of necessity, be the obedient daughter of the music.

That is, the libretto must be subordinated to musical (=dramatic) requirements, not conversely, for in the latter case the music would certainly become the slave of the librettist and his "dramatic" demands. And this brings to pass what Mozart foretold in these words:

But because the passions, whether violent or not, must never be offensively expressed, the music, even in the most repellant situations, must never offend the ear, but still give pleasure—therefore, it must remain music.

—O thou prophetic soul, Mozart!

For the development of Wagner, who did not swerve dramatic art into the downward path until after "Lohengrin," there is

nothing more characteristic than his letter of January 17, 1849, to Freiherr von Biedenfeld:

I have set my course as a musician who, starting from his conviction of the inexhaustible resources of music, strives after the supreme work of art—the drama. I say “strives,” as indicating endeavor as well; whether I shall succeed, is something of which I am unable to judge; and should I be mistaken, it will be owing only to my feeble ability, but not to my good will.

Bearing this utterance in mind, we can understand much that would otherwise appear incomprehensible in Wagner’s subsequent development. For him, music was only a starting-point, not an end (as it was for Mozart); for him it was simply a means to an end, not a (dramatic) end in itself. Consequently, he was not inclined to combine “operatically” the demands of music with those of the drama, but tryannized music so long with his unbending will as finally to make it the bonds slave of the drama. This was not so in “Lohengrin.” To be sure, it was Liszt who observed: “In Lohengrin the old opera-world has its end; the Spirit moves upon the face of the waters; it grows light.” But that was only in appearance; in reality the old opera-world celebrates a triumph in “Lohengrin,” but here Wagner takes leave of her, like his hero, who had to forsake the beloved Elsa. It breaks his heart—and yet, he bids her farewell. Did he have to go? Not as a Man, assuredly; only as a Demigod. But Wagner elected to be thenceforward a superman. Precisely then it was, as he himself confesses, that he first gained a

thorough mastery over the language of music. . . . I possessed it like a real mother-tongue; in whatever I wished to put forth, I no longer needed to take thought as to the form of expression, it was at my command, exactly as I required it in order to impart a conception or an emotion in response to the inner urge.

So mightily, indeed, were his auditors moved by the music of this (none the less) most dramatically conceived work, that Wagner could complain: “By reason of all the music, they never caught sight of the drama.”

Why, then, did Wagner give up opera-composing directly after producing his most popular opera?

The answer to this question is found in the memorable revolutionary year 1848-9, the chief turning-point in Wagner’s life and creative career. Proof is found, that he was not impelled to stir up an artistic “revolution” until the political upheaval had reached his home city of Dresden, in the fact that “Siegfrieds Tod” (i.e., the original version of “Götterdämmerung” and the

first poem of the later Nibelung Tetralogy to be written out) was entitled on its completion, as late as November 28, 1848, "A Grand Heroic Opera" (*Eine grosse Heldenoper*), showing that Wagner still intended to continue along the stylistic lines of "Lohengrin." This is also shown quite plainly by the construction of the libretto. Even at that time he had made some isolated musical sketches, but did not incorporate them in the final work, because in its composition almost thirty years thereafter he proceeded according to entirely different principles. In this earlier period he considered the opera-form by no means incompatible with certain declamatory elements in the orchestral style. For when his friend Fischer inquired how such a libretto could be set to music, Wagner spoke only of the "significant participation of the orchestra in the dramatic expression, and that the Word from the stage must have greater preponderance than heretofore." Whether Wagner, at so early a period, desired this principle to be proclaimed universally, strikes me as very doubtful; I think he merely intended to treat this particular material in that manner. This is evidenced by another observation. Wagner declared that he still had one discovery to make, after the completion of "Lohengrin," in the direction of formal artistry—a freshly intensified rhythmical animation of the melody deriving its justification from the verse, from the language itself:

Thus I had set myself a new goal, to be reached not by turning back on my path, but by consistently following the course already adopted, whose individuality lay in the fact that I did not derive my artistic impulse from the Form (like almost all modern artists), but from the poetic material.

This remark clears up various points:—In "Siegfrieds Tod," which was still to be a "grand (heroic) opera," Wagner was moved to handle the opera-form yet more freely than in "Lohengrin" for the simple reason that he could mould his material in no other way; and when he proclaimed a new kind of "rhythmical animation of the melody," he did so simply because he considered alliterative verse to be the proper garb for his material. This in itself shows us how unreasonable it is to set up the Nibelung principle as universally applicable. Indeed, one of the worst of Wagner's misconceptions was the adoption of the Nibelung style as the foundation of his later works; even "Die Meistersinger," whose subject is so totally dissimilar, is strongly influenced by that style, and not invariably to its own advantage, whereas "Tristan" and "Parsifal" are most intimately related to it. In how thoroughly operalike fashion Wagner's phantasy—first of all of a highly decorative

cast—was still functioning just at this juncture (the sketching of "The Nibelung's Ring") is attested by no less a personage than Gustav Freytag, the author of the classic German comedy "The Journalists," and the celebrated "Technics of the Drama." In his "Erinnerungen" (Leipzig, 1887) Freytag records:

Wagner told me in the Autumn of 1848 that he was occupied with a plan for a grand opera, the subject being taken from Germanic mythology; the details of the Northern heroic legend were not yet quite clear to him (!), but what aroused his enthusiasm for the idea was a chorus of Valkyrs careering through the air on their steeds. This effect he depicted with much fervor. "Why do you want to suspend the poor girls on ropes?" I asked; "in their fright up there they'll sing badly for you!" But precisely this suspension in the air and the song from on high were what attracted him, and what first engaged his sympathy for the subjects from this world of the gods. Now, there is nothing so characteristic of a creator as the egg out of which his bird takes to wing. The delight in unheard-of decorative effects has always seemed to me to be the distinctive feature and the secret leading-motive of his creative work.

These comments, published in 1887, are in full agreement with various other observations. Thus Hanslick wrote from Bayreuth on August 19, 1876:

It is more especially Wagner's sense of the picturesque that is incessantly active in the Nibelungen; from it the initial impulse of many a scene appears to have gone forth.

And Friedrich Nietzsche, who for years was a personal friend of Wagner's and knew him as few others, wrote in his "Der Fall Wagner" (1888):

With Wagner the inceptive hallucination [illusion] is not found in tones, but in actions. For these he then seeks expression by means of tones. Would you admire him, watch him when thus at work—how he dissects, how he gets hold of little entities, how he vitalizes them, develops them, makes them visible. But this exhausts his strength—the rest is good for nothing. . . . That Wagner has disguised his incapacity for organic modeling as a principle, that he demonstrates a "dramatic style" where we demonstrate nothing but sheer stylistic impotence, is in accord with an audacious habit which has accompanied Wagner throughout his life—he sets up a principle where he lacks an ability. . . . You do not know what Wagner is—a very great playactor! . . . After all, was Wagner a musician? He certainly was more of something else, namely, an unrivalled histrion, the greatest actor, the most amazing stage-genius, that the Germans have had, our past-master of scenic art. He should find a place elsewhere than in the history of Music; he must not be confounded with her genuine heroes. Wagner and Beethoven—that is a blasphemy, and does Wagner wrong, in fine. As a musician, even, he was only what he was first and last—he became a musician, he became a poet, because the tyrant within him, his histrionic genius, forced him to it. One gets no idea of Wagner, so long as one has not guessed his dominating instinct.

This is the key to Wagner's character (hence the assertion made in Bayreuth that Nietzsche was already insane when he penned this clever, malicious work), and now, when we accost the door of the newer time with this key in hand, we shall get a very remarkable inside view—Wagner assumed the pose of a “revolutionary” merely because this pose was the most grateful one from an histrionic viewpoint; the belief was already general, that the existing order would be overthrown, that European civilization would be totally wrecked, and for that reason Wagner sought betimes to assure himself a position of leadership in the new order. One need only look up in any of the more objectively written biographies of Wagner (“Richard Wagner's geistige Entwicklung,” 1892, by Hugo Dinger, or Max Koch's second volume) how Wagner really got into the revolution, in order to discover that the Royal Saxon Court Conductor became a radical revolutionary coincidentally with the cessation of the payment of his debts by the King of Saxony (whom before then he would still have permitted to act as President [!] of Saxony), and that he went over to the extremists when his *Lohengrin* Finale met with a cool reception by the public at a concert in which the “Yelva” overture of his colleague Reissiger was warmly applauded. His agitation finally led so far that his “*Lohengrin*,” which had already been accepted by the Court Theatre, was returned to him, and that his earlier operas then included in the repertory were stricken from it. This was the critical moment at which Wagner pledged himself soul and body, as man and artist, to the revolution! Thenceforward he had nothing more to lose, and could only gain. So now he wrote two articles so audacious in tone that as late as the year 1911 German and Austrian anarchistic sheets were confiscated for reprinting them. In them he praised, quite in the vein of our own extreme-leftists, “the exalted Goddess, Revolution,” as “the ever-rejuvenating Mother of Mankind,” who is to destroy root and branch an order of things grounded in sin, with all control of one man by another; “for the free man alone is sacred, and there is nothing higher than he.” . . . “There must be a change, it cannot remain thus,” was his slogan, and this imperative change he applied not only to politics, but also to his art. Thus it was more than a symbol when Wagner rang the tocsin with his own hand at the outbreak of the revolution: “The emotion aroused thereby was that of a vast, extravagant enjoyment; I felt a sudden desire to play with something otherwise held of high import.” Elsewhere he writes that he “had allowed himself to drift on the tide of events with desperate enjoyment.” It was an enjoyment that

arose from being at last enabled to play a most extraordinary rôle—that of the demolisher of the opera-form. Only in this transplantation of political feeling into the realm of art is found an explanation of Wagner's act in burning behind him all bridges to the past. That past, out of which shone Goethe's immortal words: "Only Law can give us Liberty," was as naught to him; he confounded the laws of the State, which are subject to arbitrary alteration, with the immanent laws of Art, which are susceptible only of organic development. In his hatred of all "convention" he not only threw the word "opera" overboard for good and all; he also sought to put an end to the *idea*, and tried to discredit it by all sorts of contemptuous definitions. How entirely negative his mental state then was, is shown in a letter to Uhlig of December 27, 1849:

At present the artwork cannot be created, but only prepared, and this by overturning, destroying and smashing everything that is worth smashing and destroying. That is our work, and quite other folk than ourselves will then be the actual creative artists.

These phrases again reveal Wagner in all his theatricality; he tries to make his friend believe that his mania for destruction serves altruistic ends; in reality, no one was more convinced than Wagner himself that none other than he was marked by destiny to be the new master-builder. But, after all, is there not—contrary to Wagner's intent—a good bit of truth in these words, whose significance he himself did not suspect? Considered *sub specie æternitatis*, Wagner's creative work apparently has a negative (destructive) rather than a positive (reproductive) effect. By his inflammatory, in its outward manifestations so "revolutionary" behavior he had, without so willing it, impelled the following generation, whose creative activities were exercised in far different times, yet further along the road toward formlessness, and thereby exerted a positively destructive force against the musico-dramatic stage. "By their fruits ye shall know them." The fruit of Wagnerdom has, of a truth, turned out to be hollow and rotten. It is for us to search after some tree that bears better fruit. And has not the old opera, long decried as moribund, borne such savoury fruits of age in Verdi's last works that in them the seed of a new blossomtime seems to lie?

Far worse than Wagner's temporary self-surrender to such revolutionary ideas was the circumstance that he, who had lived until then in daily intimate contact with the stage, lost himself in unfruitful theorizing while in his Swiss asylum, wasting precious years therein. When he at last returned to practical stagecraft

his familiarity with the theatre, by which his works up to "Lohengrin" had so materially profitted, was lost, and there came into being those writing-table scores which must drive any normally impressionable audience to desperation, if only by reason of their unconscionable length. Thenceforward delight in art was transmogrified into enslavement to art, voluntary theatre-going into compulsory detention; broad melody was replaced by the short-breathed "leading-motive," and instead of a place for social enjoyment we had the Festival Playhouse. From now onward the watchword was "You shall, you must"—no longer "You may, you will." It testifies equally to Wagner's enormous power of suggestion and the long-suffering indulgence of the public that the latter has for so many years been herded under the yoke of these Caudine Forks.

Now, what was Wagner's real objection to the opera? Why did he so furiously attack a genre of art which he himself had perforce admitted to be his "point of departure," and "the real womb of his conceptive powers"? An answer to these questions is found, to begin with, in the theoretical writings of the Zurich period, which Princess Wittgenstein (Liszt's inamorata) termed, with fine feminine instinct, "*ces grandes bêtises*." And Liszt himself, the all-embracing European, made an equally happy hit when, after reading the first of these essays ("*Kunst und Revolution*"), he observed that his friend would do better not to let the volcano in his brain erupt political commonplaces, socialistic gibberish and personal squabbles. No clearer was the second pamphlet, "*Das Kunstwerk der Zukunft*"; it was dedicated to the philosopher, Ludwig Feuerbach (whose ideas Wagner reiterated in half-digested form), for the sole reason that Feuerbach impressed him as a "most uncompromisingly radical liberator of the individual from the burden of obstructive conceptions derived from a belief in authority." Finally, with his great work "*Oper und Drama*," the political fog began somewhat to lift from Wagner, and he discovered the theoretical formulation for his artistic intentions. The "*Mittheilung an meine Freunde*" (one of Wagner's finest essays) and the very venomous "*Das Judenthum in der Musik*" (contra Meyerbeer) completed the series of these writings, from the totality of which we can deduce Wagner's new attitude to the opera-problem. The quintessence of all these dissertations is, that Wagner, according to his own words, had "copiously sated his immense desire to exercise a certain artistic terrorism." He was not aiming at further development, but at revolution: "I bring no compromise with futility, but merciless

warfare. . . . "It is my purpose to stir up revolution wherever I go." So he wrote to Uhlig toward the close of 1849. Thus he would not vouchsafe the opera one saving grace; he strove to expose its futility; in a word, he sought to terrorize mankind. And, unhappily, he succeeded in doing so long enough. For his writings operated far more disastrously than his works, which were fortunately not in correspondence with the Master's theories at critical conjunctures. By the younger generation these writings were taken as a point of departure; they are, in fact, to blame for the decadence of European opera in so far as it has moved in post-Wagnerian paths, and more particularly to blame for the frightful deterioration of German operatic composition, which, since 1883, has proceeded along a continuously descending line. Goethe, years before, had made the keen observation that true progress never advances in a straight line, but always in a spiral, so that an upward movement is regularly combined with an (apparent) backward movement—this backward movement, however, leading up to a higher plane. And as for the reproach of "formalism," which the "revolutionaries" are so mighty fond of hurling at anyone who favors the unbroken organic development of well-tested forms evolved by commanding geniuses, I should like to appeal to Goethe's pronouncement:

Genius accommodates itself to a respect for even such features as one might call conventional; for what else does this term signify, than that the most excellent men have agreed to assume that what is necessary and indispensable is the best?

Further:

Our chief justification in adopting strict requirements and positive laws is, that it is precisely genius that comprehends them best and obeys them most willingly. Only the semi-potent would like to substitute their limited individuality for the absolute whole, and to blazon their false conceptions as the fruit of an indomitable originality and independence.

—It would probably do Wagner injustice to apply this dictum to his case, but there is a strong temptation to recall at least the Wagner of the revolutionary year; his "semi-potency," i.e., his individualism as set forth by Nietzsche, sought to annul "the strict requirements," the "absolute laws," which the genius of Mozart for example, so willingly obeyed; on the contrary, he strove to substitute his "limited individuality," his specifically histrionic (decorative) peculiarity, for the absolute musical entirety, thus blazoning these "false conceptions as the fruit of an indomitable originality and independence," whereby he thought to shake the world of opera to its foundations. Truly (to quote Goethe once

more): "A strange thing is Time; he is a tyrant of changeable mood, who in every century shows a different face to what one says and does." So now let us see what face Time shows after the World War to the thoughts of the "revolutionary" of 1848 and later—favorite of royalty.

Wagner opposes—in line with his social theories of those days—first and foremost the opera as an art of social diversion. To his mind it signified "civilized depravity, modern Christian hebetude," when a person after wearisome daily toil sought relief, diversion, or (worse yet!) amusement of an evening in the opera. Wagner objects to having "the subjects and activities of art" utilized for such ends, without considering to what haunts of tawdry "amusement" he banishes those whom he would deprive, by his rigid requirements, of pleasure in opera. Most illogically, he does not say "Our operagoers being that way, let us try to provide them with as elevated and diversified an entertainment as possible"; instead, he cries, "Out of the Temple with these people! My ideal audience must have nothing else all day in their heads but my artwork"—as if the world consisted of nothing but snobs and gentlemen of leisure. The outcome of this frame of mind was the Festival-Playhouse, originally intended for ideal audiences free of charge, in reality almost solely a privilege for the educated herd, the only ones able to spend time and money in gratifying such an expensive fad. All his life Wagner was fairly obsessed by the notion that the mountain (the public) ought to come to the prophet; whereas in point of fact it is the prophet who should attend on the public. Hence, the opera, a form in which Gluck, Mozart, Beethoven, Weber, and finally Wagner himself, did not deem it beneath their dignity to employ their creative activities, became for Wagner a

chaos of loosely intermingled sensuous elements without coherence or connection, out of which anyone could pick and choose whatever best suited his capacity for enjoyment—here the graceful leap of a dancing-girl, there the venturesome passage of a singer; here the brilliant effect of a bit of decorative painting, there the astounding eruption of an orchestral volcano. The aim, which alone should justify the utilization of so manifold agencies, the great dramatic aim—never occurs to the people now at all.

This observation was undoubtedly applicable to the audiences of the year 1849, although a goodly number of reports on contemporary operatic art prove that Wagner went too far in his generalization. But has it become so very much better in this respect to-day, after Wagner's energetic interposition? Does not

the public, in accordance with an apparently immutable psychological law, still enjoy a piece "given in pieces"? Not only in opera, but in general? Just stop to consider what it is that people like best in Wagner's works, and you will be surprised to see how well Wagner has taken care of his public, even in the most effective situations, precisely after the mode of the old opera, despite all theoretical assurances to the contrary. This renders it the more remarkable that he (in "*Das Kunstwerk der Zukunft*") should have fought with the sharpest arguments against the dominance of music in the opera. Mozart had still proclaimed the leadership of music—as limited, of course, by dramatic considerations in opera, contrasted wherewith poetry should be only the "obedient daughter." But Wagner airs his opinions in revolutionary style as follows:

But it was in opera that Music finally elected to give most impudent expression to her more and more inflated arrogance. At the feet of Music, Poetry was to lay her entire selfness, everything whereof she was in any way capable, finished characters and intricate dramatic situations, in short, the whole dramatized plot, to the end that Music might do with this gift of homage whatever her good pleasure or caprice should dictate.

And in "*Oper und Drama*" he expresses himself yet more vehemently:

We were unable to comprehend the unnatural and futile character of opera until its unnaturalness and futility had arrived at their clearest and most offensive manifestation; the fallacy which lies at the root of this musical art-form could not be thoroughly understood until the loftiest geniuses, at the expense of their entire artistic vital powers, had explored every path in this labyrinth without finding a way out, but ever returning on their steps to the original fallacy. This went on till the labyrinth became a lunatic-asylum for housing the insanity of all the world.

That is to say in brief that Gluck, Mozart, and all the other great masters of opera had lost themselves in a labyrinth until—Richard Wagner discovered the way out of this "lunatic-asylum"! Modesty can go no further, bearing in mind the circumstance that, for instance, "*Don Juan*" and "*Figaro*" were conceived in said asylum!

Now, in Wagner's opinion, wherein does the fundamental fallacy in the artform of opera consist? Wagner explains: "In this: that a means of expression (Music) was made the end, while the end of expression (the Drama) was made a means."

This is the basic proposition in the Wagnerian doctrine of Opera and Drama—a tenet whose significance Wagner further emphasizes by using particularly large print.

Is Wagner right or wrong in this fundamental assertion of his? Is music in reality merely a means of expression, while the drama is the true end of the opera? Did Wagner, with subtle intelligence, expose an actual abuse, or was the naïve evolution of this branch of art right and fit? It is not easy to answer these questions. Let us recall what Herder said to Gluck in a letter quoted at the beginning: Musician and Poet both desire the mastery; it is only through coöperation that they can produce the Whole, to which either can provide only his part. Wagner himself, uniting musician and poet in his own person, could bring about the necessary compromise—and did so, as long as he was not misled by his own theories. "Lohengrin" plainly shows this. Not until he had become a "revolutionary," and exercised "terrorism," did he suddenly discover that the earlier relation between music and poetry—upheld by no less a personage than Mozart—was an absurdity, and that the "drama" (in actual fact, the acting) should control the music and reduce it to a "means of expression" (i.e., to an obedient handmaiden). The irrationality of the assertion is best illustrated in Mozart's operas; for example, is "Figaro," in which poetry is the "obedient daughter" of music, a less perfect drama because Mozart's musical genius takes the lead in it instead of Da Ponte's "drama"? Was Da Ponte a poorer librettist because he subordinated himself to Mozart's requirements? But, as it happens, one is not conscious of any "subordination" in "Figaro"; text and music, elsewhere ever at odds with each other, are here so admirably reconciled, that one can nowhere say that the one element controls the other. Hanslick, in his work "Vom Musikalisch-Schönen," for once very rightly remarks:

Pursued to their ultimate conclusions, the musical principle and the dramatic principle must necessarily cut across each other. Only the two lines are so long that they appear to the human eye as parallel for a considerable distance.

It is a proof of Mozart's tolerant genius that he did not pursue to its ultimate conclusion that mastery of music which he demanded; Wagner's intolerant genius, on the contrary, had perforce to derive the uttermost conclusions from his declared domination of the drama, and the result simply showed how very right Mozart was. In case of doubt, however, one would surely decide in favor of the musical demand, for in opera the music is the leading factor, not the drama in itself—the music, indeed, only in so far as it also possesses dramatic quality and is not put forward as an absolute end in itself, in concert-style. On the other hand, if the dramatic principle be pushed to the limit, we arrive at the recited drama with

orchestral support, at a kind of spoken melodrama, in which the singers are bound to observe musical pitches only to a certain extent. To be sure, both Gluck and Wagner demanded this in theory, but both were too musical to draw the conclusion of their own theory. It remained for Wagner's successors to carry out in practice such an absurd theory. Wagner was, furthermore, in spite of his demand for the predominance of the drama, opposed to the "progressive composition" of a poem which had been written without a view to musical reproduction (e.g., after the style of Maeterlinck's *"Pelléas et Mélisande,"* von Hoffmannsthal's *"Elektra,"* Wilde's *"Salome,"* etc.). "I am (so he writes in 1858 to Princess Marie) not favorably disposed toward the utilization of such finished works of art." This means, that the poem, however dramatic it might be, was in his opinion suitable for composition only when prepared from the outset with a view to musical setting. Wagner was, in truth, far too good a practitioner not to perceive what would be the final outcome of his extreme dramatic requirements. Well-chosen words were penned against the abuse of the declamatory drama—as exemplified in Wagner's *"Nibelungen"*—by the poet Grillparzer, who found it absurd to make music in the opera a mere bondmaid of poetry:

If music in opera exists only to express again what the poet has already expressed, then do without music, I beg. . . . He who knows thy power, O Melody! will not make music the slavish follower of poetry. . . . No opera-composer will find it easier to follow up the text with music than he who puts his music together mechanically; per contra, he whose music pulsates with organic life and has a compelling force founded in its own being, easily comes in collision with the words. That is, every properly melodic theme is formed and developed according to an inner law, which is sacred and inviolable for the true musical genius, and which he cannot sacrifice to comply with the words. The musical prosaist can begin anywhere and leave off anywhere, because parts and pieces readily permit of transposition and rearrangement. But he whose inner sense grasps an entirety, can but give it as a Whole, or not at all. This is not intended as an apology for neglectful treatment of the text, but may excuse it in individual cases, or even justify it . . . thus one can frequently accuse Mozart of mistreating the text, Gluck, never. Therefore, the so much bepraised power of characterization in music often possesses a very negative value, which is mostly limited to this—that rejoicing is expressed by non-repining, sorrow by non-rejoicing, lenity by non-severity, severity by non-lenity, love by flutes, and desperation by trumpets and timpani with double-basses. The composer must keep faithfully in touch with the situation, not the words; if he finds better in his music, let him slight those in the libretto.

In these admirable words, which, by the way, were written without knowing anything whatever about Wagner, Grillparzer

aids us to a profound insight into the nature of the opera-problem. Is not the style and method in which music-dramas are nowadays put together mosaic-like after the leading-motive scheme, a musical prosaism in Grillparzer's sense? Is not this style of composition, with its incessant squinting at the Wagner pattern, just as much of a lifeless formula as the old, pretendedly antiquated opera-form ever became in the hands of unintelligent imitators? The so-called "endless melody" that Wagner promised us has long since been metamorphosed into endless unmelodiousness; the "effect," which Wagner so strongly opposed in the case of Meyerbeer (though he himself well understood how to handle it advantageously) was, so Wagner declared, an "effect without a cause"; through the results of this procedure we long ago arrived at the cause without effect! For that matter, Wagner was clever enough not to tie himself to his theoretical system. Thus he points at "Tristan und Isolde" as the work to which he would permit the strictest application of the demands deriving from his theoretical pronouncements, but instantly adds:

Not because I shaped it according to my system, for I was wholly oblivious of all theory, but because in this work I at last shaped my course with the fullest freedom and utterly regardless of any theoretical objections whatsoever, with the result that, during the performance, I myself realized how far I had outstripped my system.

This outstripping of his system naturally amounted simply to this—that Wagner, in decisive situations, paid no heed to his theoretical negation of opera and, by reason of his "subconscious knowledge of the traditional opera-form," was saved from the worst practical blunders into which his theories eagerly urged him. Thus it is clearly manifest in Wagner's later works, "The Ring," "Tristan," "Die Meistersinger" and "Parsifal," that wherever he writes unconcernedly in opera-style he grips his auditors, whereas he bores them when himself in the clutches of his theoretical ideas. As a chief innovation as contrasted with the old opera-style he, in so many words, proclaims the

advantage of having elevated the dramatic dialogue itself to be the principle factor in the musical construction, as well, whereas in genuine opera all that was considered suitable for musical setting . . . were passages of lyrical lingering, even these being mostly forcibly injected into the action. The music, incessantly stirring our sympathetic nature to accord with the furthest ramifications of the dramatic motives, puts it in our power to interpret the dramatic action with drastic precision, and as the actors are not obliged to inform us of their motives in terms of reflective apperception, their dialogue attains that naïve immediacy which constitutes the true life of the drama. . . . The prime progenitive

element of the music lies, undivorced from the dialogue, in the modern orchestra, this grandest artistic achievement of our epoch, continuously acting with the action—indeed, conceived in a profound sense, enveloping each and every motive of the action itself as it were in the conceptive source.

—Wagner consequently, when proscribing the term “opera,” desired to designate his works as “deeds in music, become visible.” However, he side-stepped this toplofty designation, and called “Tristan” a *Handlung* (Action), the “Ring” and “Parsifal” *Bühnenfestspiele* (Stage Festival-Plays), leaving “Die Meistersinger” quite without a generic appellative.

How Wagner proposed to mould his music independently of the old opera-form, he set down in his pamphlet “Über die Anwendung der Musik auf das Drama” (On the Employment of Music for the Drama):

The new form of dramatic music must—so that in its turn it may form, as music, an artwork—show forth the unity of a symphonic movement; and this it attains by spreading itself over the entire drama in most intimate connection with the latter, not merely over separate parts thereof arbitrarily thrown into relief. Such unity will be displayed in a woof of fundamental themes intertwined throughout the entire artwork and contrasted like the themes in the symphonic movement, supplementing one another, taking on new shapes, dividing and conjoining;—only, in this case, it is the finished and performed dramatic action that lays down the laws for such division and conjuncture, while the laws of symphonic construction were derived from the movements of the dance.

This is the theory of the so-called “Leitmotiv”-System (system of leading-motives), a term invented, not by Wagner himself, but by Hans von Wolzogen, and more generally adopted than Wagner’s own designation, “Grundthema” (fundamental theme). With the aid of this new system Wagner also bids farewell to the old form of melody. In “Lohengrin” the “endliche Melodie” (limited melody) still holds sway; thenceforward Wagner knows—theoretically, at least—only the form of that “ever self-consistent melody, flowing from no purely musical source—that melody of the singer, in whose mouth it (signifies) simply an enhanced expression of speech, out of which it is organically developed.” Concurrently, the orchestra too, has “its endless melody,” that web of musical motives ceaselessly emergent, ever-developing, combining, separating, then blending anew, intensifying, subsiding, and finally embracing, well-nigh swallowing (!) one another,” . . . motives that “express an emotional activity such as could hitherto be depicted in no purely symphonic movement with an equal fullness of combination.” But this whole tremendous

orchestra was to "act, considered in the sense of regular opera, only as an accompaniment to the solo voices," so that (as Wagner commends in the case of Schnorr's *Tristan*) "the orchestra completely disappeared as contrasted with the singer, or, rather, seemed part and parcel of his interpretation."

Here we again perceive that Wagner's demands border on extravagance, and therefore need feel no surprise that his disciples pushed these in themselves immoderate requirements beyond all bounds. Thus it came that, in the end, the orchestra became an end in itself; instead of the singers' absorbing the orchestra, the instruments at last so drowned the voices of the wretched singers, screaming themselves hoarse, that only harshly interjected howls testified to their vocal survival. "Sense becomes nonsense, pleasure turns to pain."

That Wagner's principles must lead astray, into paths ending in a new "lunatic-asylum," was recognized betimes by some few keen and clever thinkers. But their voices were lost in the chorus of Wagner corybantes who cried hosannah to everything their lord and master did, and were fain to crucify anyone who raised well-meant protests in the interest of art. Now, however, it is necessary to gather together certain of these voices, for at the present time we are confronted by a crisis. We ask ourselves, Did not Wagner wrest dramatic music away from the natural course of its world-wide evolution, and, aided by his pseudo-revolutionary personal notions, force it into false paths? Was it needful to "smash" the opera-form? Such doubts already assailed one of the cleverest minds that the old opera-style could boast—namely, Rossini, when Wagner paid him a visit in March, 1860. At that time Wagner expressed himself with great moderation,¹ prompted by discretion. He defended himself against the accusation that he despised all opera-music, including Mozart, Weber and Gluck, and remarked that he only wanted to oppose the abuses of the operatic style. This, to be sure, contradicted his writings, but corresponded quite closely to his practice, which had meantime become far less revolutionary. Rossini, the refined master of Romanic form, raised some very pertinent objections against Wagner's ideas, e.g.:

How can one maintain that independence which is demanded by the poetic conception, in combination with the musical form, which is nothing more nor less than convention?

¹I quote here the exact written report of the conversation, as published by Ed. Michotte in his "Souvenirs personnels." Wagner's account is incomplete.

To which Wagner very mildly replied:

Certainly, Maestro, convention forces itself upon us, and that to a far-reaching extent, unless we entirely renounce the musical drama and even the musical comedy. It is self-evident that this convention, having been elevated to the height of an artform, must be so treated as to avoid its absurd and ridiculous extravagances. And I inveigh against abuses only.

Thus Wagner himself—in Rossini's presence, at least—did not care to condemn the conventional form of opera, so long as its extravagances were avoided; an admission worthy of peculiar notice! To Rossini Wagner continued:

I am very far indeed from being insensible to the purely musical charm of many a wonderful passage in operas that are justly renowned. But when this music is condemned to the subordinate rôle of a mere entertainment, or when, a slave to routine and foreign to the scenic action, it conducts itself systematically as a mere sensuous ear-tickler, then I strenuously object to that rôle, and shall take the field against it.

But now Wagner proclaimed to Rossini a future "tendency in the conception both of composers and of singers and public—a tendency equally new and fruitful," whereupon Rossini became very skeptical:

That really implies a complete about-face, does it not? And do you believe that the singers, who are accustomed to a virtuose parade of their talent—which, if I catch your idea, is to be replaced by a kind of declamatory song-speech—do you believe that the public, accustomed to the old-fashioned plays, will tamely accept these new fashions, so destructive of the entire earlier order? I doubt it very much.

To which Wagner could offer only the feeble assurance: "It will certainly require long-continued education—but it will come."

It is now almost forty years since Wagner died, and since that conversation with Rossini a half-century has elapsed. We have become accustomed to Wagner, and—what is still more to the point—even to his successors, up to a certain limit. For all that, Rossini's doubts were justified, as the opera-repertoires clearly show. And this for a reason which Wagner preferred to ignore—because the old opera is founded on requirements of human nature, on conventions which, as Goethe said, signify what is "necessary and indispensable," upon which "the most excellent men" have agreed. Wagner's requirements, however, sprang from the brain of one individual, who, although a genius, was superlatively eccentric, to whom we all have had to pay tribute for scores of years, but against whose tyrannous usur-

pations we are gradually beginning to revolt, not only in our capacity as authors or singers, but also as members of the general public.

Wagner has always possessed a *dæmonic* power of attraction for young, inexperienced composers, and likewise for singers gifted solely as actors; and, strange to say, his artistry has a most peculiarly inflammatory effect on dilettanti. It seemed so easy to compose in his style, it seemed so simple to impersonate him on the stage, and so the youthful aspirants ran away from school before they had learned anything worth while, and straightway sang Lohengrin or Tannhäuser if they only had a tenor voice, or composed music-dramas if they had invented a few short-winded leading-motives after taking a few harmony lessons. This brought the whole tendency into discredit, through no fault of Wagner himself. Even Hanslick, his chief opponent, became his defender in this matter:

Wagner created, for his powerful, original and complicated talent, a method which, by virtue of its nature and effect, defies generalization—will ever remain a peculiarly personal method. He himself built it up step by step. Among the young Wagnerians who have begun to lisp in the Nibelung-style, there is hardly one who is capable of writing an original piece of music. But what of that? Whoever is at a loss for a charming melody of eight measures, can think out a dozen nice little leading-motives which, shaken up and down and round about in the orchestra, intertwined, now bright in color, now sombre, make “music,” that is, “mood,” while the singers on top operate as Criers of Action. Endowed with a certain intelligence (we are “educated,” all of us), with a talent for imitation and a knack for orchestration, one can nowadays, by means of the Wagnerian method, devote oneself to opera-composition just as one would to any vocation for which genius is not a prerequisite.

Yes, we have come down to that; and it may be added that under these conditions even singers without voice or vocal training are now possible. A certain “conception,” a little “business,” some “declamation,” then the gigantic apparatus of the modern orchestra let loose underneath—and now it makes no difference whether the singer on top has voice or none. Thank heaven, one hears precious little of him, anyhow. And for that, too, Wagner was unwittingly to blame. Yet it is the final resultant of his “dramatic” system. Alfred von Wolzogen, the discriminating biographer of Wilhelmine Schroeder-Devrient (extolled by Wagner as his exalted ideal), gives some noteworthy suggestions in the biography concerning this point. They furnish an additional proof of how a great ideal can be misunderstood. Wolzogen writes:

The fact that nowadays our frightful primadonnas can fortify themselves with respect to their much-applauded aberrations, by appealing to apostles like the late Schroeder-Devrient, is a genuine calamity; and the eternally immutable demand of good taste and a wholesome love of art—that one wants, above all things, to hear *singing* in opera—is shattered in impotent clash with the madness that has seized the world. . . . The great virtue of her [the Schroeder-Devrient's] singing lay in the soulfully sensitive exposition of the piece of music; the more delicate its texture, the more did one have to admire the ways and means whereby she contrived to set everything in the right light.

Indeed, the Schroeder-Devrient, as a dramatic singer, stood on the same dividing-line as did Richard Wagner as a composer. A product of the old opera, she strove toward other goals; misunderstood in her new endeavors, she fell a victim to exaggerated imitations—precisely like Wagner, about whom her biographer also lets fall some remarks worthy of thoughtful consideration:

So surely as Wagner did not succeed in presenting us with an art-work which, regarded from a musical standpoint, is to be compared in any way whatever with the creations of our classics;—so surely as his whole activity and endeavor has hitherto rather resulted in interjecting an immense confusion into things and conceptions which, before his advent, were crystal-clear, and finally in propagating the cult of Ugliness;—so it likewise stands with the invention of the specifically dramatic style of singing, noised abroad as a deed of redemption. The need of better opera-texts was felt—so the opera was destroyed to supply it; it was recognized that a cancatrice had not merely to reel off roudades in front of the prompter's box, but ought to interpret a character—and in blindly carrying out this idea, so correct in itself, the art of song, without which opera of any sort cannot exist, was ruined.

However, the best and most pertinent objections ever raised against Wagner in principle, were penned by a non-musician, the great Munich art-historian, Adolf Bayersdorfer, one of the keenest minds in that "still" Germany so little known in foreign lands, whose representatives often remain for long unheard amid the noisy clamor of many a pseudo-grandee. It should be stated that Wagner himself declared, when Bayersdorfer's criticism of "Die Walküre" appeared (1870), that B. was the only opponent he need take seriously. This able article was unfortunately lost to view for some decades, and even the final reprint in Bayersdorfer's essays on the history of art (1902) lay so concealed in the mass, that just those circles to which this criticism was addressed did not get sight of it. I myself stumbled only by chance upon this article which, to the best of my knowledge, has never found mention anywhere in all our musical literature; here I must quote its principal statements, for no one can treat the theme more

caustically than Bayersdorfer.—To begin with, a few brief objections levelled especially against Wagner's music. Bayersdorfer asserts that his art is an "unanalyzable mixture of tension and tedium," a phrase probably hinting at the remarkable succession of extraordinarily effective (opera-like) episodes and endless "dramatic" (in reality often only epic!) discussions in dialogue-form; for, as he rightly observes, "with all the dramatic design of the separate parts, the whole has not a dramatic effect." The composition of the "Ring" (here specifically "Die Walküre") he calls "an inebriant spinning-out of music with its perpetual overflow of dulcet tones and new leads that emerge like air-bubbles on the confusedly and restlessly heaving billows of an immeasurable ocean." All this being "a music for neurasthenics and would-be neurasthenics." (It was a full decade later that Nietzsche coined his famous apothegm, that Wagner was to be regarded simply as a "neurotic.") That it is "an overstimulated taste, that employs regularly what those who came before had used as a rare and most piquant spice." (In this respect, as we know, matters have meantime become still worse.) He protests against the "total negation of the law of inertia," as evidenced in the avoidance of natural cadences and the continual employment of deceptive closes, whence there arises a "continuous deception mounting to distress for the listener." Bayersdorfer supplements these purely musical strictures by a discussion of principles which, in my opinion, presents the most well-weighed condemnation of Wagner to be found in connected statement. In this discussion the problem is treated more searchingly than either Nietzsche or Hanslick, the two keenest opponents of Wagner, ever laid hold of it. It shows, first of all, wherein Wagner's fundamental error lay, and why we must sooner or later break loose from Wagner's false principles. The question, Opera or Drama? is here answered in the only way in which it seems, to one who knows and loves Mozart, possible to answer it. Bayersdorfer says:

In former times, when one wrote an opera, one wanted to apply the art of music to a clear-cut, humanly understandable, organically fused action (one that led to a series of situations with a final dénouement, and was, therefore, both rationally and dramatically constructed), based on a broad and diversified foundation. One desired a libretto which, in the orderly continuity of a highly plastic and picturesquely effective action, wove the dramatic threads into combined situations whose intricately intertwined, psychic significance music was capable of interpreting by passages in two, three, or more parts, or by full and divided choruses. The librettist must needs think in these given forms and mould his thought in them, because they were the building-material assigned him

by the art of music, in and with which he must perforce write dramatically. In so doing, he drew the deep-lying laws of the drama from the same source whence Poetry takes them, not from the latter. Essential laws of music operating subconsciously, and therefore unerring and unassailable, created the external form of the opera, wherein this art may make itself manifest in its full extent; and never has discriminating discernment confounded opera with drama because it shares the general form of the latter, nor demanded of opera that it should allow its form to be regulated in detail by any other art than the one which was its source and for which alone it exists. Whatever of decadence or extravagance may have affected its externals—as, indeed, they were bound to be affected from time to time—is a law of evolution that applies, not alone to opera, but to the drama and all the other arts, and does not in the least affect the real core of an historical form unconsciously developed out of given factors and penetrated with intelligence. The limited understanding of an individual cannot usurp the place of reason in history without finding itself in the course of time, when the lighting has changed, all at once “out of the picture.” It will not discover the point outside of history where it can apply its revolutionary lever, for it lives in history. We fail to perceive why authoritative theories of art should be deduced precisely from Wagner’s obstinate, importunate nature, which is in itself too unwholesome to have a character of universal validity, or from his creations, the product of corroding reflection; or why we should construct our rules out of his exceptions. His theories are of a wholly exclusive sort; they lead to the inevitable conclusion that everything produced before him in the realm of opera was a series of mistaken attempts, and that he was the first to discover the true form of opera. The things Wagner writes are *sung* dramas, which are different in their true inwardness from the traditional opera, standing in no conceptional connection with it, but only in an historical one. Now, in the sung drama (and this is a conclusion that results from the conception with inexorable logic), music can be only the vehicle, not the controlling, formative element—only the servant, not the master. The artistic effect of the materialized conception is dependent on the drama alone, and must, at bottom, be independent of the music. But when the drama is bad, possibly very bad, and, pieced together out of undramatic, merely novellistic motives and effects, presents itself in a series of ineffective psychic processes, where do we find that eternal truth in art which sought material manifestation in this form?—where do we find a refreshing enjoyment of art for the expectant auditor, even supposing him able to disregard the anomaly presented in the very conception of the musical drama?

For the sake of clarity I shall attempt to reduce these not entirely accessible pronouncements to a few leading statements, with which I shall combine my own opinions of the matter in hand.

1. The opera is an organic product of a necessary historical evolution.

2. The perversions to which this organism, like any other, has necessarily been subjected from time to time, testify nothing

against the vital power of the organism itself; simply prune away these "external extravagances," and the positive content of the form "penetrated with intelligence" remains.

3. The opera is, first of all, a musical artwork; not purely musical, however, but a musico-dramatic artwork.

4. For this reason the libretto (of course in a rational dramatic form) must operate, withal, within the given musico-dramatic forms of music which have been logically developed, and must therefore have peculiar regard for the construction of choral numbers in situations where the action not merely admits of such, but positively demands them.

5. One neither can nor should confound opera with drama merely on account of its externally dramatic form, for one would thereby impose upon it laws foreign to its nature. True, opera is, in part, governed by dramatic laws, but these laws must always be modified by the concurrent requirements of music—*dramatic* music, not absolute.

6. The personal taste of an individual artist, however highly gifted, should not substitute arbitrary self-assertion, and still less the limited capacities of his individuality, for an historically and organically developed form. If he does so, nevertheless, he will (as in Wagner's case) fool the unreasoning multitude for a while, but in the course of time, "when the lighting has changed," find himself isolated. This danger Wagner avoided only in his first works, which live and move within the opera-form so genially amplified by him; his later works, in so far as they strictly correspond to his theories, are growing more and more tiresome in their dialogue sections; their in part fascinating effect is due only to the fact that Wagner, contrary to his theoretical professions, not merely had recourse to the resources of the old opera, but actually transcended them. For that matter, Wagner practically disavowed his strict "dramatic" demands by taking over, from the original legends of the "Ring," "Tristan" and "Parsifal," long epic episodes destitute of dramatic life. The collocation of these ineffective epic elements with the imposing dramatic passages wherewith Wagner still scores even in his later works, produces that "unanalyzable mixture of tension and tedium." Poetry, when all is said and done, is not the primitive root of drama (*cf.* Wallaschek, "Anfänge der Tonkunst," 1903); music and scenic presentation have a common origin; poetry was added later, and originated independently. It is, therefore, unnatural to proclaim a foreign element, the Word, as ruler over the original scenico-musical element, For melody was not, as Wagner

mistakenly asserts, derived from speech ("Sprachgesang"), but from accent.

7. Wagner's art-works form an (assuredly genial) exception to the general rule, but have not the procreative power to bring forth new and perennially vital works of similar tendency. His false conclusion was, that music for him was not the controlling, formative element, but only a means to an end (the "drama"); it does not control, but is controlled by a factor that operates independently of the music.

8. The sung drama (whose form is regulated by the subject-matter alone), which seeks to take the place of the organically developed opera-form, is unnatural, and, in its combination with epic elements as proffered by Wagner, even—in a higher sense—undramatic.

9. Further, the specifically musical speech employed by Wagner in his later period, is unnatural, fairly neurotic. It is unnatural in its deposition of the "finite melody" in favor of the "endless melos," which latter is really a mere mosaic-like juxtaposition of very short (and so "finite"!) bits of melody whose natural closes are artificially delayed by deceptive cadences.

10. For the creative world of art there is nothing left but to flee from the atmosphere of this Wagnerian hothouse out into the healthful open-air life of the good old opera-style. It is true that we owe Wagner gratitude for having opened our eyes to many a rooted abuse in music. But, while he was really seeking to prune the rank growths of a movement that was carrying the musical principle too far, he finally passed over to the other extreme, the exaggeration of the dramatic principle.

It is surely no accident in the history of opera that the greatest music-dramatists have been the product of a union of the Germanic spirit of art with the Romanic. To be sure, both Gluck and Wagner championed the extreme German claims for the drama, yet both were turned aside—the one more, the other less—from their strict demands, in practice, by the Romanic ideal. Mozart attached himself to the sensuous beauty of the Italian opera, Meyerbeer to the dramatic characterization of the French school. On the other hand, the Germanic influence—more particularly as exercised by Wagner—on the two leading Romanic music-dramatists of the nineteenth century, Bizet and Verdi, is unmistakable. Both remained true to the traditional opera-form, both—most surprisingly in the aging Verdi—succeeded in filling this form with glowing blooms of melody, without in any way neglecting the dramatic requirements. Were positive proof still

needed that Wagner's theories went astray, while a rational observance of his practice within the traditional form resulted in creations of vital force, one has only to compare "Carmen," "Aida," "Otello" and "Falstaff" with "Salome," "Elektra" and "Der Rosenkavalier." The cardinal fault in these latter works was anticipated by Verdi when he remarked to Maurel:

Our present-day composers are overmuch harmonists and orchestrators. They cannot find it in their hearts to cut anything, to tone down their instrumentation, in order to take thought solely of the expression, the verisimilitude of the characters and the effect of the situations.

But he who led them thus astray—though not of set purpose—was Wagner. For a moment I shall yield the floor to one of the most enthusiastic apostles of Richard Strauss, Leopold Schmidt, in order to show to what artistic maxims a procedure leads which not merely exaggerates Wagner's weak points, but actually nullifies his sensible principles.

To-day, after "Salome" and "Elektra," we can no longer doubt that Strauss has not only surpassed Wagner, but has deviated from him, besides, in very essential points. His choice, and still more his treatment, of the texts is different; the relation between poem and music has again been carried a stage further by him. The manner in which Strauss interweaves the voice-parts in his dramatico-symphonic structure is by no means a mere technical innovation; it rather affects the very core of the artwork. Strauss shifts the centre of gravity into the orchestra, and this in a fashion which must alter the relation between the dramatic effect and the absolutely musical effect in favor of the latter. We might say that Strauss has reopened, to instrumental music, the door which was so violently slammed in the face of vocal music during the fight against Italianism. At bottom it is really immaterial [?] in what form music overrides the text. So much is certain—that Strauss is no longer, in the Wagnerian sense, a servant of the Word, and, as a musician, confronts the poem far more imperiously.

So now everything would seem to be in the best of order, with Richard Strauss as the hero who has once more won the victory for "Music" in the field of musical drama. The sole flaw in this logic is, that it is "immaterial" in what form Music does its "overriding." First of all music, for the sake of intelligibility, ought anyhow not to override the words (where does it ever do so in Mozart or Verdi?); secondly, it makes an enormous difference whether the vocal melody (i.e., the dramatico-musical expression) takes the leading part, to which all the rest is organically subordinated, or whether this vocal melody is degraded to an unmelodic declamation just good enough to be roared into the insatiate tone-surges of an orchestration conceived, not dramatically, but sym-

phonically. For, in this latter case, the formative musical principle does not derive from the requirements of musical drama, but exclusively from the symphonic demands of pure music. Thus we arrive at the wholly illogical situation, that with Strauss the Word is, indeed, taken as a pretext for luxuriant orchestral tone-painting, but is at the same time so stifled beneath this same illustrative orchestration as to become totally incomprehensible. The absurdity of this "new" procedure in art could not be more plainly demonstrated.

Now, shall we still let ourselves be overawed by Wagner's theoretical terrorism, which, having its origin in the influence of the Russian nihilist Bakunin, seeks to destroy the product of organic growth in order that a subjectively limited principle may be set in place of one universally applicable—or shall we return to the good old opera-form, in its modern stage of development? According to Nietzsche, Wagner's art, "the music without a future," attained its "swift glorification" just in the age of national wars, during the intermediate stage in European conditions; whereas Nietzsche regarded the real artist of the future as one who would speak the language of Mozart and Rossini like his mother-tongue.

However, as Goethe once said, there is nothing in the past that one should long to have back again; we have only the perennially new, evolved from the amplified elements of the past. And genuine longing must always be productive, seeking to create something new and better.

(Translated by Theodore Baker.)

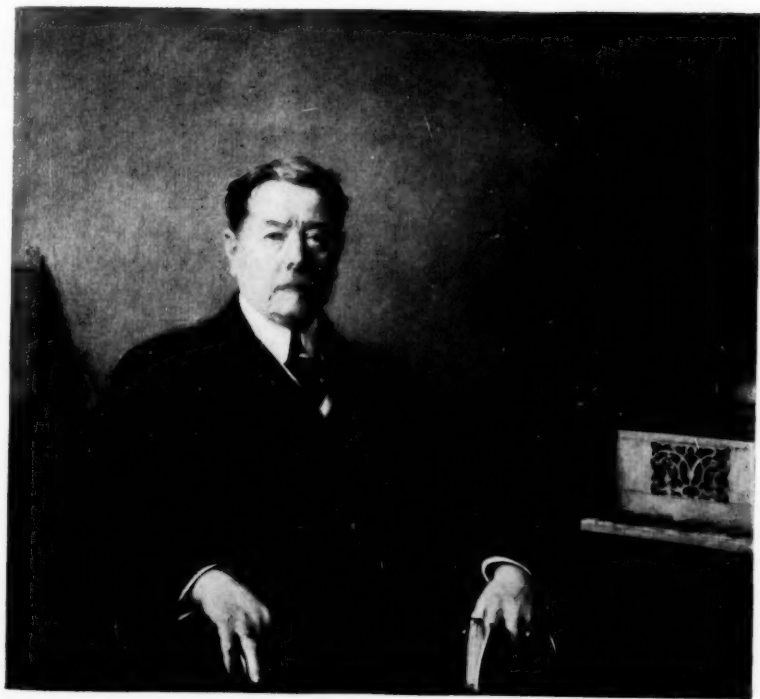
GEORGE W. CHADWICK

By CARL ENGEL

ONE of the first books on contemporary "American Composers" appeared about a quarter of a century ago. That was but yesterday. And yet, a quarter of a century is a long time. Or so it would seem. For at that time and in that book, Ethelbert Nevin (then still alive) was called "very modern in his harmonies." The use here of the loosely attributive adjective "modern" explains a curious fact: having adopted a plan not unusual in books of collected biographies, the author proceeded to group his material under general headings, indicative of traits which he thought common to several of his subjects; thus the modern composer of "Narcissus" and "The Rosary" was approvingly classed among "The Innovators." Thus also, relegated among "The Academics," we behold George Whitefield Chadwick.

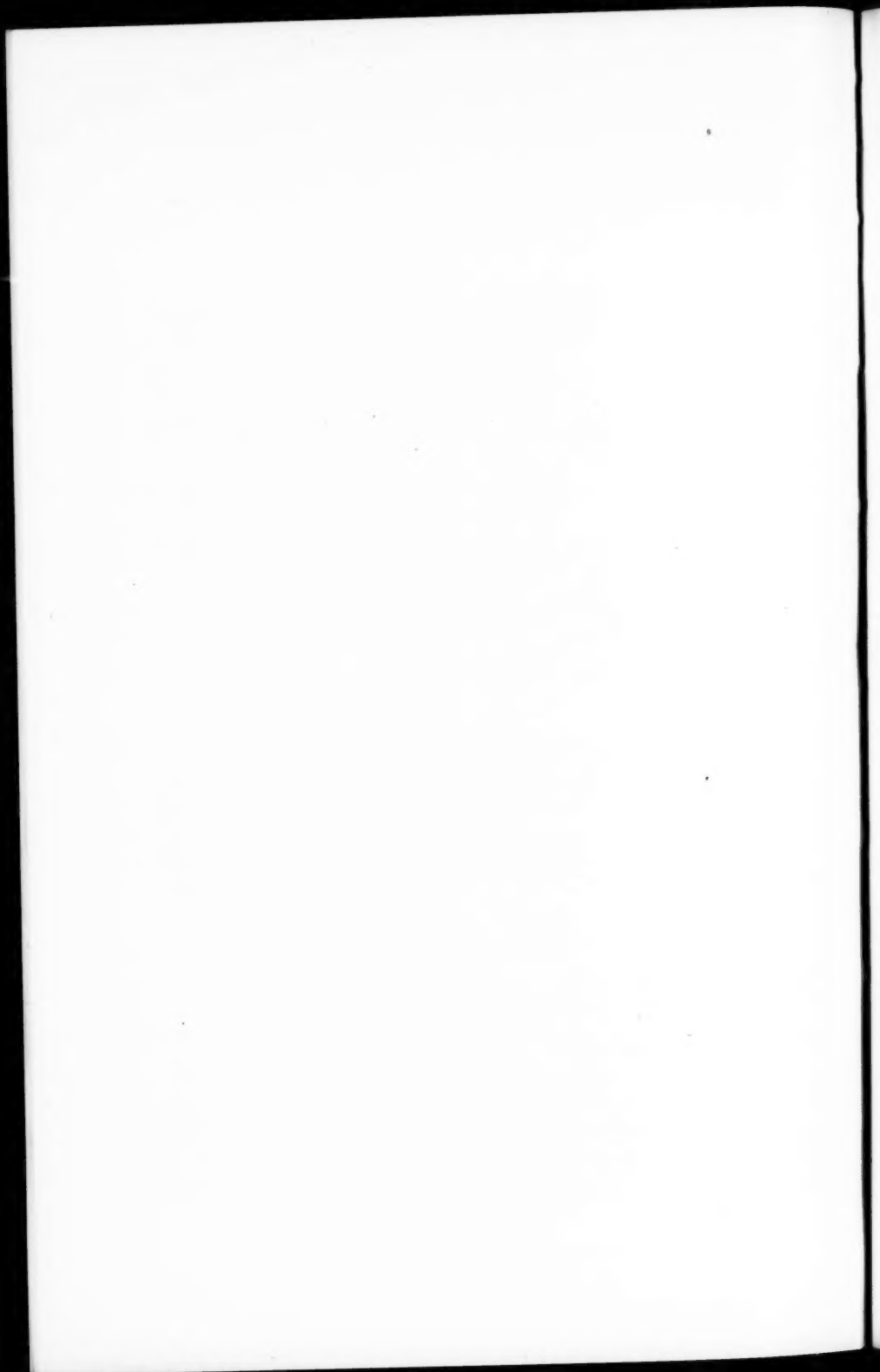
Now, mere harmonic innovations, even if real, hardly suffice to give to a piece of music that quality which will insure for it the wide and continued popularity enjoyed by some of Nevin's compositions. Similarly, a composer whose work can boast of nothing more than academical correctness, may scarcely hope to draw attention or invite discussion in a day when harmonic innovations are again declared the chief, if not the sole, concern of music. On the contrary. Any composer who twenty-five years ago was deemed an "academic," to-day might reasonably be expected to be dead, buried, and forgotten. This, however, is not exactly true of Mr. Chadwick.

The appellation "academic" fits Mr. Chadwick perfectly, if the term is meant to denote solid scholarship and erudition. It does not fit him in the least, if the term (as it often does) is meant to imply that the fruit of this scholarship is sere, the product of this erudition sapless and moribund. "Academic" well suits the dignity of the musician, the authority of the educator. It is sadly misapplied, if it connotes the kind of gravity that turns learning into boredom, unmitigated by a precious sense of humor and unrelieved by frank joviality. Without these two cardinal virtues George Chadwick would not be George Chadwick, the hardened theorist would not be the genial composer and revered teacher—without them, perhaps, this so-called Academic would not so admirably represent what is best in American music as musical member in the American Academy of Arts and Letters.



George Whitefield Chadwick

After the portrait by Joseph R. de Camp



When the Academy elected Mr. Chadwick to succeed Edward MacDowell, shortly after the latter's death (in 1908), it honored a composer who at times has been particularly happy in giving musical expression to something that has been characterized as strictly and strikingly American. In Boston, where Mr. Chadwick's music is probably oftener heard and better known than anywhere else, critics have not been slow to point at his native ways. Three or four years ago, when Mr. Philip Hale gave his opinion on the "American note" in music, he wrote: "We find this note in two orchestral compositions of Mr. Chadwick: a Scherzo in a Symphony, the one in B flat major if we are not mistaken, and 'A Vagrom Ballad' in his Symphonic Sketches. . . . In these two compositions is a certain jaunty irreverence, a snapping of the fingers at Fate and the Universe, that we do not recognize in music of foreign composers, great or humble." After the first performance of Mr. Chadwick's "Sinfonietta" for orchestra (Jordan Hall, Boston, Nov. 21, 1904), a reviewer spoke of the work as "being decidedly American in its conception." On February 17, 1924, the People's Symphony Orchestra of Boston gave a concert devoted entirely to compositions by Mr. Chadwick. The program was made up of divers pieces of symphonic music, absolute and descriptive, a movement from the String Quartet in D minor, a ballade for baritone and orchestra, and three shorter songs with orchestral accompaniment. Variety was not lacking in this one-man program. The absence of a concerto or kindred provocation for bravura told its tale—and a pleasing tale it is. Mr. H. T. Parker (in "The Boston Evening Transcript") was moved to sum up his reflections on the concert in the following paragraph: "The impression exceeding all others was of Mr. Chadwick as a veritably American composer in symphonic music, first to deserve and keep that title. Certain pages in Mr. Chadwick's music are as recognizably American as Mussorgsky's are Russian, or Wagner's German, or Rossini's Italian."

These judgments are not peculiar to the vicinity of Symphony Hall and Gainsborough Street, Boston. As far back as 1903, H. E. Krehbiel in New York wrote of Mr. Chadwick: "In his Symphony in F and Quartet in E minor there are traces of an idiomatic expression which, since Dr. Dvořák's sojourn in the United States, has been discussed more or less intelligently as a possible trait for an American School of Composition." There was no need of dragging in Dr. Dvořák, except that Mr. Chadwick's Symphony in F (No. 3) won a prize offered, in 1894, by the "National Conservatory of Music" in New York—for the best symphony by

an American composer—when the Bohemian visitor was the bright ornament of that conservatory and chief adjudicator in that competition. Krehbiel's remark rather suggests that Mr. Chadwick's nationalism follows in the wake of Dvořák's "New World Symphony." But does it really? The American traits in the Symphony No. 3 are perhaps not so plain to everyone as they were to Krehbiel—unless he actually meant that Scherzo in F which is part of the Symphony in B flat, No. 2, and was written long before Antonin Dvořák heard his first "Ethiopian melody"! The only movement in the Symphony in F which has a distinct national flavor is the third; and if this Saltarello movement smacks of anything American, it must be the honest garlic dear to a part of Manhattan which is known as "Little Italy."

The case of the Quartet is undeniably much stronger. In the E minor quartet Mr. Chadwick speaks a musical tongue that is clearly idiomatic. Nor is he to that end dependent upon war-paint or burnt cork. That is important and consoling. This speech, to be idiomatic, is not necessarily punctuated by the hic-cough of an Indian drum, does not jabber with the twang of a negroid banjo, or fall into the puling of a shopharic saxophone. Yet America is a vast country. It is inhabited by many races. Not all of these people have the same peculiarities of speech. Not all the music that may be called American must be the music of all Americans. Racial stuff is in reckless jazz; it is not foreign to our species of cautious anthems and gummy sob-songs. Racial also is the music of a nobler type that corresponds to a prouder, purer strain, that is free from baser alloys. It is not all-embracingly American, and could not be so. Almost always it is associated with only a limited area and definite period. Mr. Chadwick has written such music. In his case, the area is that sector of a circle which runs within a two-hundred mile radius round Plymouth Rock; the period of that music antedates the discovery of musical America by Ahasverus. Mr. Chadwick can write naïvely, even rustically; he has the courage to set on paper tunes that are unblushingly amiable. But when he puts these tendencies to better purpose, he blends the simple with the touching, he writes a melody like that of the final chorus in his "Land of our Hearts," which is both hymn and folk-song, straightforward, perfect and abiding. Such melodies are not the exception in Mr. Chadwick's music. Only his musical education or, paradoxical as it may sound, his talent has stood in the way of his becoming the Stephen Foster of the North. This failure, in the light of his achievements, ceases to be regrettable. Nevertheless, when Mr.

Chadwick is recognizably American, he is Yankee pure. That it should be so and not otherwise, lies in the nature of the man, his inheritance, his training, his life.

* * *

George Whitefield Chadwick is of New England stock. He was born in Lowell, Massachusetts, on November 13, 1854. Unlike James Abbott McNeill Whistler, Mr. Chadwick is not known to have ever resented the carelessness exhibited by Destiny in choosing for his birthplace the prosperous and prosaic mill-town on the Merrimac. The Chadwicks were Congregationalists, old-fashioned and orthodox. The composer's father, Alonzo Calvin Chadwick, started as a farmer in Boscawen, New Hampshire. Admiration for the famous Methodist preacher, George Whitefield, friend of the two Wesleys, put it into his head to name a son after that saintly model. On the maternal side the family came from Candia, across the river in Rockingham county. The mother had passed her fortieth year when she died in giving birth to George. He was her second child. The first-born, Fitz Henry, was fourteen years older than George. With a difference in spelling, he was named after the mother's grandfather, Lieutenant Abraham Fitts, who distinguished himself in the Saratoga campaign and left an interesting diary of his military exploits. There were soldiers among the father's ancestors as well. One of them served in Colonel Stark's regiment and fought at Bunker Hill.

The fighting that Alonzo Calvin did, was the farmer's struggle with crops and the soil of the Granite State. When he finally gave up the fight, he moved over the State line to Lowell and worked for a time in a machine shop. Farming had not prevented him from gratifying his intense love for music. There were, of course, no professional musicians in the Chadwick family. It was a respectable New England family. But in Boscawen the musical farmer for ten years taught a singing class. A member of that class he took for a wife. After their marriage, the Chadwicks organized a little chorus and orchestra—or what would you call a combination consisting of a violin, several bass viols, a trombone, a bassoon, and a bugle played by the leader? Keyed instruments were a great rarity. Yet the Chadwick home possessed such a prize in the shape of a "Newhall" square piano on which Fitz Henry at an early age began to play. Fitz Henry was musical. More than that, he had a taste for good music. From him George received his first lessons on the piano, and with

him he later learned to know the four-hand arrangements of Beethoven's Symphonies. When George was fifteen he had picked up enough about organ playing from his brother to substitute for him at church in Lawrence. Fitz Henry served in the 44th Mass. Infantry in 1863 and '64. In 1865 he entered the hardware firm of A. J. Wilkinson Company in Boston, and remained with it until his death in 1917. He was over sixty when he still played the organ in a church at Malden, where he had his home. With helpful counsel he had guided the first steps in the musical education of George.

After George's birth, the motherless infant was placed in the care of relatives at Boscawen, and remained with them for three years. Then the father married a second time and took his little son back to Lowell. In 1860 the family moved down the river to Lawrence, where the father saw a chance in the life- and fire-insurance business. He founded a "Mutual Insurance Association," and before long he enrolled in it half of the inhabitants of Lawrence. After the great Boston fire of 1872 the other half was vastly scared, and the insurance business flourished. In time George went to school. That somewhat interfered with his passion for following hand-organs all over town. On Sundays there was the music in church. And a grander thing than a churchly cadence the boy's imagination could not grasp. Solemn musical debauches were the family reunions at Thanksgiving or Christmas, when uncles, aunts and cousins—some of whom were the possessors of excellent voices—sang praises to the Lord in rich and vibrant harmony. These early experiences left their mark on the boy. His bent for music would not tolerate ignoring.

Graduated from high school, George was allowed to study the piano with Carlyle Petersilea, who had recently returned to his native Boston after several years under Moscheles, Reinecke, and other stars of the galactic circle in Leipzig. For these lessons George travelled from Lawrence to Boston (on the railway which Whistler's father had helped to lay out). But also in matters pertaining to the Insurance Association was he frequently sent "to town"—because the use of his student's ticket meant an appreciable reduction in the fare! On these errands he gained familiarity with his father's affairs, and nothing was more natural than that eventually he received regular employment. He stayed in the business until he was twenty-one. Meanwhile he went on with his musical studies.

In 1872 George Chadwick entered the New England Conservatory, of which twenty-five years later he was to assume the

direction. The Conservatory was then housed in the old Music Hall building. Geo. E. Whiting was his teacher in organ playing. For about six months he attended the harmony class of Stephen Albert Emery. His notions of harmony had been vague. Questions on the subject put to his brother met with the reply that harmony was "chiefly major and minor," which George thought he had known all his life. Before he received any instruction in composition he wrote anthems and songs. One of these songs, "Request," he took to Oliver Ditson, who declined it however for the delicate reason that he considered it "commercially no good." It was published in 1883 by Arthur P. Schmidt, in whose catalogue appeared the greater part of Mr. Chadwick's compositions.

One year, 1873, with Dudley Buck, and the two following with Eugene Thayer (then organist of the "First Church" in Boston), rounded out Chadwick's organ instruction in America. The pupil in turn had begun to give lessons and concerts, attracting not a little attention in both.

Dr. Eben Tourjée obtained in 1859 a charter for a Musical Institute at East Greenwich, Rhode Island. When later, in 1867, he founded the New England Conservatory in Boston and became its first director, he continued for a time to hold "Summer classes" in the older institution. At this summer school, in 1876, Theodore Presser, then but a young pianist of promise, who had befriended Chadwick, recommended him to President Butterfield of Olivet College for the position of "head of the music department," just vacant. When the offer came to him, in a letter from President Butterfield, Chadwick eagerly accepted. Great was the amazement and undisguised the horror of the President when the new head of his music department presented himself at the beginning of the school year and showed not the faintest sign of hirsute growth on lip or chin. Men lived in a beard age. How could a body of students be held in awe by one who himself looked every inch the student? If not flowing whiskers, at least a moustache was a prerequisite to authority at Olivet. It was too late to look for a hairier professor, and the President bowed to the unalterable. Chadwick was head and rump of his department. He taught the piano, the organ, and harmony; he led the choir and glee club; he gave weekly organ recitals; he lectured on musical æsthetics and history—each lecture requiring a hasty gathering of knowledge which he could pass on to his hearers. In these manifold functions he acquitted himself to the surprised satisfaction of his president. Since the opportunities for spending money

at Olivet were extremely few, Chadwick was obliged to save most of his professorial stipend. The riches thus accumulated could be put to no better use than in paying for a trip to Europe and for the continuation of his musical studies.

The plan met with vigorous parental objections. A college professor was one thing, a professional musician another, and a quite reprobable one at that. The inherited prejudice would not die. Yes, if his son had real genius—like Lowell Mason, for instance. But under the circumstances a father's love and wisdom felt constrained to point out that the insurance business was a good deal safer and more reputable.

The crisis was at hand. George Chadwick disregarded his father's objections. In the autumn of 1877 he sailed for Europe, the old but still indispensable world.

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With the exception of Arthur Foote, every American composer of Mr. Chadwick's generation, and most of the serious students of music in America, regarded as incomplete a musical education which did not include a year or more spent in studying or hearing music in Europe, especially in Germany. Leipzig, Berlin and Munich were the three principal points of attraction. Chadwick was drawn to Berlin because his last teacher in Boston, Eugene Thayer, had there studied with Haupt. Karl August Haupt was famed as a remarkable contrapuntist and brilliant virtuoso on the organ. Pupils flocked to him from everywhere; more than forty, in the course of time, came from America alone. Not every pupil found in Haupt the teacher he expected or needed. Among the disappointed was Chadwick. Haupt promptly told him that for the study of orchestration he would have to go to someone else. And what Chadwick wanted most to do was to try his hand at orchestral composition. So Haupt suggested Lebert's school at Stuttgart. But a ship acquaintance, Samuel L. Hermann of Philadelphia, had filled Chadwick with glowing tales of Jadassohn in Leipzig, to whom Hermann was going. The choice between Stuttgart and Leipzig was quickly made. He lost no time in joining his shipmate.

The Conservatory at Leipzig, in the 70's and 80's, was still the Mecca of music students, near and far. Among the 142 new pilgrims in 1877 were 21 who came from the United States. Among the 166 arrivals in 1878 were 36 Americans. Ernest Perabo, Harrison M. Wild and Theodore Presser were three of them.

There was no dearth of company from home. But Chadwick did not enter the conservatory classes of Reinecke and Jadassohn until he had been the latter's private pupil for about three months. Then Jadassohn insisted that he take the regular courses, because they were cheaper. Private lessons were ten marks, and kind-hearted Jadassohn gave him twice the time he paid for.

Clearly, Jadassohn took a special interest in Chadwick. He once told Louis C. Elson that Chadwick had been "the most brilliant student in his class." This class was taught in a peculiar manner. Dame Ethel Smyth, entertaining memoirist, who is another Leipziger of the 70's, has recorded what impressions of these lessons remained with her. She considered the lessons of Reinecke rather a farce. Those of Jadassohn in the Conservatory, she says, were at least amusing, but equally farcical as instruction; their official length was forty minutes, and when Jadassohn arrived, always a quarter of an hour late, it was to stand with his back to the stove for another ten minutes telling the class exceedingly funny stories, and telling them, as Dame Ethel observes, "with the Jewish lisp" she came to know so well in Germany. She specifies: "He diligently set us canons and other exercises, but there was seldom time even to look at the work we brought, much less correct our mistakes." This does not quite agree with Chadwick's case. Jadassohn was not in very good health during the school-year 1878, and Chadwick often had his lessons at Jadassohn's house, early in the morning. Jadassohn took the greatest pains in correcting everything that Chadwick brought him, and sometimes grumbled when his pupil shied a little at the exercises in counterpoint. If the next student rang the bell before the work of the lesson was done, Jadassohn would put Chadwick aside and then take up the lesson with him after he had finished with the other. Dame Ethel's narrative, then, is part of the story, but not the whole.

Whatever may have been the faults of Jadassohn's pedagogic methods, Chadwick found him a scrupulous and yet inspiring teacher. Perhaps the most valuable thing that Chadwick learned from him was to write "significant counterpoint"—counterpoint that was really polyphonic. While he encouraged his pupil to compose in larger forms—a Scherzo for full orchestra was the consequence—he gently led him back to a *cappella* choruses and simple (in name only!) four-part writing. Here probably were laid the foundations for Chadwick's impeccable choral style, for the fine and meaty texture of his "Chorklang." It may be found in his anthems, in his choruses for men's voices, and in the larger choral

works with an orchestral background. Often a passage that worries the eye, will charm the ear. Which is more to be desired than the reverse. Widely contrasting in mood as are, for instance, "The Viking's Last Voyage" (for men's voices) and "The Lily Nymph" (for mixed voices), they are equally "grateful" for the singers. Vocal limitations are never disregarded, while the subtler means of vocal resources are often made to yield fine and novel effects. Especially in the "spacing" of the voices, Chadwick displays an unerring instinct, leading him sometimes to write in what is seemingly a rather unorthodox fashion, but one that is amply justified by the result it produces.

These lessons with Jadassohn in the spring of 1878 also led to Chadwick's first attempt in chamber music. A movement for string quartet was played at the end of that school term. Orchestral music eventually interested Chadwick more than did chamber music. Yet the six works of that kind which he has written are notable as much for their well-knit form as for the skilful handling of the instruments. Chadwick does not lose himself in mere juggling with patterns when he writes for competing strings, nor is he preoccupied with questionable experiments in sonorities that go against the nature of the instrument. He loves a cantilena and is capable of endowing it with enough breath to let it sing its way calmly through all the registers from the E-string of the violin to the C-string of the 'cello. In the days of "the Kneisels" these works were frequently heard.

What Chadwick profited in Leipzig, how he developed in those two years, became apparent in the final concerts of the Conservatory in the spring of 1879. At the seventh "Hauptprüfung," on May 30, his String Quartet in C major was played, with Hans Winderstein as the first violin. The "Signale" praised the work for its "natural and healthy invention," while the reviewer for the "Musikalisches Wochenblatt" detected in it "interesting traits which reflect an emotional life of personal cast." But the success of the quartet was eclipsed by that of his overture, suggested by Irving's "Rip van Winkle," which was played for the first time at the ninth and last "Hauptprüfung" on Friday, June 20. Three of his fellow students in the audience that afternoon were Helen Hopekirk, Max Fiedler and Carl Muck. The program contained no less than four overtures. The one by Algernon Ashton to "Julius Cæsar" seems to have been woefully inadequate. Paul Umlauf fared but little better with his overture to "Hamlet." Shakespeare was still beyond the reach of these young people. Richard Franck's offering was thought too Mendelssohnian (even

for Leipzig). Concerning "Rip van Winkle" the "Signale" said: "Of the Overtures by far the best is that of Mr. George W. Chadwick, of Boston. Its contents are fresh, it is architecturally well constructed, and adroitly orchestrated." The critic of the "Wochenblatt" found a knowledge of Irving's fairy tale unnecessary to the enjoyment of the overture. The work "called for respect" because it betrayed more than conscientious study, and showed that this young American "had his own poetic intentions," that his music had "color and a physiognomy."

Mr. Chadwick has found the overture a form especially suited to his poetic intentions and range of emotions. He has composed at least eight works to which the name overture is given or might be applied, so far as extent and design go. Three of them are named after members of the "Heavenly Nine." Among them the "Melpomene" overture is perhaps the best known because oftenest played. Its dramatic development and climax make an obvious and powerful appeal. Mr. Chadwick has the dramatic instinct. His thematic material "speaks." He does not shun rhetoric. His musical points are made with a flourish oftener than by artful suggestion. But his points "come off," which is the main thing. He deeply feels the tragedy and comedy of life with their unending chain of horrors and absurdities. Although Mr. Chadwick has written but one (unproduced) serious opera, one biblical opera (given in concert form) and three works in lighter vein, he has to a high degree the sense of the stage. He proved that in his musical commentary for the production of Walter Browne's "Everywoman."

There is no form of criticism more futile than the pious wish that things were what they are not and never can be. Hence there is nothing gained by lamenting the fact that operatic conditions in America did not encourage Mr. Chadwick to develop the dramatic side of his musical gifts. Allowing for one or two failures to start with, he might have ended up by writing an opera as successful and steeped in local color as Charpentier's "Louise." In circles of refinement and advanced taste, it is quite proper nowadays to scoff at this romance of the Parisian *faubourg* and to dismiss its musical investiture with a scornful shrug. It is not a bad opera. Next to "Carmen" and "Faust" it probably is at present among French operas the one that is most often given and draws the fullest houses. It is, then, belated rather than improper advice to suggest that American composers—other things being equal—look round for Louise's American cousin. She is here, somewhere. And when discovered, she may turn out a better

stage figure than were Azara, Azora, Zenobia, Natoma, Mona, Cleopatra, Shanewis—and all the rest of those exotic princesses and dusky maidens on whom American composers in the past have pinned their operatic hopes. There is richer material nearer home. It has been tried. "The Scarlet Letter" by Mr. Walter Damrosch was an instance soon forgotten. Which does not argue against the probability that New England—a more recent New England than that of Hawthorne's Puritans or witches: that of James Russell Lowell and Whittier, or of Mr. Robert Frost—could furnish the subject for an excellent opera libretto, comic or tragic; and George Chadwick should have set it to music, doing for New England what Charpentier did for Paris . . . beans and brown bread taking the place of onion soup and a French loaf, but the native twist and theatrical knack being the same. He alone possessed both. When Mr. Chadwick's comic opera "Tabasco"—his first attempt in this field—was produced in Boston in January, 1894, Mr. Philip Hale wrote in the *Musical Courier*: "He of our American composers has certain peculiar advantages in this undertaking new to him. He has not only melody, rhythm, color, facility; he has a strong sense of humor, an appreciation of values, and that quality known as horse-sense."

All of which qualities are of course inborn. Still, there is a possibility that they were brought to the surface, strengthened or sharpened by the musical after-cure which Chadwick took upon his getting through with the treatment at Leipzig. He first went to Dresden, where Gustav Merkel throned in all the glory of a court organist. But Merkel did not answer Chadwick's needs any more than had Haupt. Composition was his goal. Therefore he determined, against Jadassohn's wishes, to seek instruction from Josef Rheinberger in Munich. He did not leave Dresden, however, without having had the distinction of hearing his "Rip van Winkle" overture at one of the summer concerts on the *Brühlsche Terrasse*.

Music is a complicated art. The process of learning it is complicated. Every art has its rules, every art has its "tricks." Rules can be taught, tricks must be caught. One man can teach all the rules there are. Different teachers, different musicians, have different tricks of their own. When Chadwick went to Rheinberger in the autumn of 1879, he was no longer a novice in plying the tools of music. He knew the rules. Rheinberger was perhaps not the man or musician to open new doors of thought to this young American, yet he was an experienced pedagogue; and a shrewd pupil could catch from him a trick or two that were

worth knowing. Chadwick got from Rheinberger something that Jadassohn, with all his training, had not imparted to him: an orderly idea of strict composition. In Munich the process of musical expression became with him a fully conscious and consciously controlled discipline. The critical faculty was awakened in him, was added to his creative power. And the critical faculty in a creator is that discernment which definitely assigns to "school-rules" the place that belongs to them and formulates new rules or, if need be, invents new tricks, sprung from a vital and controlled creative impulse. Munich proved a stimulant to Chadwick stronger than Leipzig. Munich's "Lebensfreude" wholly liberated the spirit of this young New Englander. Nineteen years old, enthusiastic Ludwig Thuille was his classmate. His teacher in score-reading and conducting was Ludwig Abel, the Concertmeister in Hermann Levi's orchestra. The inflammable musician came in touch with fiery Wagnerians, with painters and poets who were burning with the recurring fever of another "modern" movement. Viewed from Athens by the Isar—that wonderful spot overflowing with beauty, art and beer—the other Athens, by the river Charles, must have seemed preposterously distant.

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When Chadwick left Munich, about the end of March, 1880, and returned to America, he had served his apprenticeship. Like every real artist he was from now on his own teacher, his own discoverer, his own discarder. His "Lehr- und Wanderjahre" were over. He settled in Boston. Thither the "Rip van Winkle" overture had preceded him. It had its third performance there within six months at the (1880) May Festival of the Handel and Haydn Society. The composer conducted the work. The warm reception given to both was unfortunately not witnessed by the one person to whom this triumph would have meant the most—his father died in the winter of 1879.

Chadwick took a "studio" in the Lawrence Building and let it be known that pupils were welcome. Among those who heeded the call was Horatio Parker. Chadwick found him an argumentative, stubborn scholar, but a delightful fellow. Soon their relations grew into intimate friendship that lasted until Parker's death. For seventeen years George Chadwick filled various positions as church organist (among them from 1883 till '93 at Dr. Edward Everett Hale's church). He taught and conducted. One of his organ pupils was Sidney Homer; Arthur Whiting

studied composition with him. He conducted the music written by John Knowles Paine for "*Ædipus Tyrannus*" (first given in Greek at Harvard) when a "road company" played it in English at the old Globe Theatre in Boston and the Booth Theatre in New York. He was elected the leader of a mixed chorus (Schubert Club) in Salem, and of a men's chorus (Arlington Club) in Boston. He gradually gathered round him a sizable orchestra of amateurs, and in conjunction with his choral forces gave Max Bruch's "*Fair Ellen*" and similar works. He naturally gained deeper insight into what the human voice can or should do.

Not only his choral compositions show this progress, but also those for a solo voice. Of songs Mr. Chadwick has published well over one hundred. With very few exceptions, they are thoroughly vocal, their piano parts are expertly wrought. At times—no doubt due to the choice of text—the melodic line and harmonic structure are a little tame and do not eschew the conventional. Mayhap Mr. Chadwick, like many a young composer, has had his evil hours when the Tempter, in the guise of a wicked publisher, whispered into his ear strange lore of mammon to be gained by writing soulful "ballads." That most of Mr. Chadwick's ballads are musically better than the common run, accounts perhaps for their not having earned him a place beside "the innovator" Nevin. And yet the ballad proper, the ballad of Karl Loewe, is the type of song in which Mr. Chadwick excels, in which he has few rivals. Although speaking the speech of a later period, he suggests Loewe by the cogency of his musical expression, by the convincing power to which his musical dramatization attains. No wonder that several of these songs were conceived, or ultimately arranged, with an orchestral accompaniment. They demand it. Scott's "*Lochinvar*," Longfellow's "*Curfew*," John Todhunter's "*Aghadoo*," are examples. His setting of Sidney Lanier's "*Ballad of Trees and the Master*" must now be rated a classic among songs by American composers worthy of the name. Fortunately, Mr. Chadwick does not disdain simplicity. He can be popular, in the best sense of the word, and turn out a tune that runs along in straight and even gait quite like the most anonymous folk-song. Indeed, several of his songs are so labelled, and others might fittingly be styled "in the manner of a folk-song." They are unpretentious, but highly satisfying songs. None of them is so artless, that it does not by some slight token betray the deft hand of the artisan. Such touches are met with in the prettily illustrated "*Baby's Lullaby Book*" (1888), in the *Four Irish Songs* (1910), in the two *Folk-songs* (1892), and many others.

Humorous lyrics are filed to a sharper edge when set in Mr. Chadwick's musical italics. Manly and heroic poems he clothes in stirring airs and martial rhythms; witness "Drake's Drum" (1920) or "The Fighting Men" (1917—which was not Mr. Chadwick's only contribution to victory: both his sons served in the U. S. Army). One of his earliest songs, "The Danza" (1885), is still a favorite in the repertoire of singers like Mme. Schumann-Heink.

Mr. Chadwick did not wait long before tackling the larger forms. His First Symphony was played by the orchestra of the Harvard Musical Association on Feb. 23, 1882. The next season, when George Henschel took over this orchestra, transformed into the Boston Symphony, he requested Chadwick to "write something" for him. Henschel was promptly served: on Jan. 13, 1883, the "Thalia" overture was played. When Henschel, in 1886, brought out the Scherzo in F (part of Symphony No. 2), the applause was so insistent that the movement had to be repeated—an unprecedented event. The honorarium of thirteen dollars which the treasurer of the orchestra paid Chadwick for the performance was not only also unprecedented, but it remained unique.

To a conductor who composes, the forces under his direction are a dangerous temptation. To a composer who makes his living by conducting, the means at his disposal are a boon and inspiration. Mr. Chadwick's leadership of the music festivals in Springfield (1889-99) and Worcester (1897-1901) furnished the incentive to some of his most significant compositions, such as "Phoenix expirans" and "Judith." He was commissioned to set Harriet Monroe's Ode for the opening of the World's Fair in Chicago. Another piece of occasional music was the chorus for men's voices, "Ecce jam noctis," sung at the commencement exercises of Yale in 1897, when that University conferred on him the honorary degree of Master of Arts. In 1905 Tufts College followed with an honorary L.L.D. In the same year Mr. Chadwick conducted several of his works in Leipzig at a concert of the "Concordia." A number of his compositions owe their existence to the Litchfield County Festivals in Norfolk, Conn. Perhaps not the most ambitious of them, but one of the finest among all of Chadwick's choral works, is the Christmas pastoral, "Noël," written and performed in 1908.

Mr. Chadwick is first and foremost a symphonic composer. The orchestra is the medium he prefers to all others. In it he expresses himself most fully, most happily. He thinks and hears

orchestrally. His instrumental methods are not mere borrowed devices. They are the outcome of a distinctive instrumental imagination. Persons, moods, actions, are translated into orchestral sounds of contour, color and meaning. For "Tam o' Shanter" chased by the host of devilish imps, for the "Angel of Death" spreading his wings protectingly, for the impassioned worshippers of "Aphrodite," for pictures as varied as they are vivid, Mr. Chadwick finds an orchestral representation that is definite and telling. His orchestra can sing, it can roister. It can be droll without being grotesque. It can be graphic and yet escape being flatly imitative. Here then are paired consummate technic and real originality. And by moments such as the delicious "Katzenjammer" passage in the "Vagrom Ballad," or by "tricks" such as the sustained B flat, hanging suspended in mid-air like the Star of Bethlehem throughout the prelude to "Noël," we can measure the versatility of a master.

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In 1897 a change, for some time imminent, in the directorship of the New England Conservatory became inevitable. The post was offered to Mr. Chadwick, who had been a teacher at the Conservatory since 1882. For more than twenty-five years Mr. Chadwick has now been at the head of it. Under his directorship the Conservatory has developed into one of America's best and largest institutions of musical education. Only the rare combination of authority, tact, kindness, and unflagging energy has enabled him to bear up under the irksome strain which the complex duties of the position place upon a sensitive artist. As a teacher he has held to exceptionally sane and broad views. His text-book on "Harmony" is now in its fiftieth edition. And why?—because the author did not remain stationary where he stood in the first. He has moved on as time and music have moved on. These days, no doubt, Mr. Chadwick occasionally listens with an ear somewhat incredulous. But he is always interested in progress, never irritated or soured by some of the latest "innovators." If the dog has his day, let the puppy have his hour. Mr. Chadwick does not anxiously cling to rules of the past. In fact he writes: "If the effect justifies the means, any rule may be disregarded." When he analyzes the "fifth inversion of a dominant thirteenth-chord" and shows that it is "simply a dominant ninth-chord on a tonic pedal with the fifth suspended," one wonders a little, was the "simply" written with a straight face

IV

A Vagrom Ballad.

A tale of Tramps and railway ties
And fish, paper and rum
Of broken hearts and thickened eyes,
And the "thirty days" to come!

From the original manuscript of G. W. Chadwick's "A Vagrom Ballad"
(Symphonic Sketches)

By courtesy of the Library of Congress

A Vagabond Ballad

2/95

Handwritten musical score for "A Vagabond Ballad" by J. S. G. The score is written on 15 staves. The title "A Vagabond Ballad" is written in large, bold letters at the top. The tempo "Moderato" and the key signature "B-flat major" are indicated. The score includes parts for Flute, Oboe, Clarinet, Bassoon, Trumpet, Trombone, Tuba, and various percussion instruments including snare drum, cymbals, and triangle. The music is written in a mix of treble and bass clefs, with various time signatures and dynamic markings. The score is handwritten and shows signs of age, with some ink bleed-through from the reverse side.

or a smile? The secret of his success in directing the Conservatory, of his success as a teacher, is revealed in the following remark: "The brain and mind are one thing and technic is another. You may cultivate the fingers, the throat or whatever else is used, but without brain and heart there is no musical education." George Chadwick's intellect is keen, his sympathy abundant. He should know.

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A quarter of a century ago, when that critico-biographical volume of "American Composers" first sought to frame within the boards of one book a full and serried view of the men, their music and their national quality, the general effect was far from unimpressive. The book appropriately opened with MacDowell. By many he is still regarded as the finest musician born in America. Was he the most American in that group of "the big four"—MacDowell, Foote, Chadwick and Parker—who, each in his way, have been an honor to the country of their birth? MacDowell's "Indian Suite" is a noble work, his "New England Idyls" are charming and poetic miniatures. These and similar compositions of his are cited whenever MacDowell is claimed as the first "American" composer. They are not more American, however, than is Chadwick's "jauntily irreverent" *Vagrom Ballad*. And there may be some who will deny that MacDowell, in typically American fashion, could ever have "snapped his fingers at Fate and the Universe." To them Mr. Chadwick will easily remain the "first to deserve and keep that title" which collectively is now applied to a company of slightly mixed origin and rather international tendencies. That volume on "American Composers," already enlarged, must be revised, rewritten and further expanded. Nor should it attempt again to arrange the composers under class headings. For at least one composer—George Whitefield Chadwick—would have to stand in a class by himself.

Compositions of GEORGE W. CHADWICK

Published works appear under the year of publication [years in brackets refer to date of composition and first performance].

Abbreviations:

APS	Arthur P. Schmidt, Boston	JC	John Church Co., Cincinnati
OD	Oliver Ditson, "	GS	G. Schirmer, Inc., New York
BFW	B. F. Wood Co., "	HWG	H. W. Gray, " "
CCB	C. C. Birchard Co., "	TBH	T. B. Harms, " "
BMC	Boston Music Co., "	JBM	J. B. Millet, " "
SBC	Silver, Burdett Co., "	N	Novello, London & New York

w. p.—with piano; orch.—orchestra; org.—organ; S.O.—Symphony Orchestra
MS.—manuscript, unpublished

- 1878 STRING QUARTET IN G MINOR, No. 1 MS.
1879 STRING QUARTET IN C MAJOR, No. 2 MS.
[7th "Hauptprüfung," Leipzig Gewandhaus, May 30]
"RIP VAN WINKLE." Overture, orchestra MS.
[9th "Hauptprüfung," Leipzig Gewandhaus, June 20]
1881 SO FAR AWAY. Song w. p. OD
GOOD-NIGHT. Song w. p. OD
ACROSS THE HILLS. Song w. p. OD
MARGARITA (Scheffel). Men's voices APS
REITERLIED. Men's voices APS
THE VIKING'S LAST VOYAGE (Silvester Baxter). Men's voices w. p. or orch. APS
THE MILLER'S DAUGHTER (Alfred Tennyson). Song w. p. APS
1882 SYMPHONY IN C, No. 1 MS.
THREE SACRED ANTHEMS, Op. 6 APS
1. Praise the Lord, 2. Blessed be the Lord, 3. O Thou that hearest
SIX CHARACTERISTIC PIECES FOR THE PIANO, Op. 7 APS
1. Congratulations, 2. Please do, 3. Scherzino, 4. Reminiscence, 5. Irish melody, 6. Étude
THREE LOVE SONGS, w. p., Op. 8 APS
1. Rose Guerdon, 2. Serenade (Arlo Bates), 3. Before the dawn (Arlo Bates)
SPRING SONG FOR WOMEN'S VOICES, w. p., Op. 9 APS
SONG OF THE VIKING (Mrs. Craigin). Men's voices, w. p. or orch. APS
1883 "THALIA." overture, orchestra APS
THREE LITTLE SONGS, w. p., Op. 11 APS
1. Request (Barry Cornwall), 2. Gay little dandelion, 3. Thou art so like a flower (Heine)
1884 "THE MILLER'S DAUGHTER." Overture, orchestra [Listemann concert, 1892] MS.
1885 10 CANONIC STUDIES FOR THE ORGAN, Op. 12 APS
3 SACRED QUARTETS, MIXED VOICES, w. organ, Op. 13 APS
1. As the hart pants, 2. God who madest earth and heaven, 3. God to whom we look up blindly
SIX SONGS, w. p., Op. 14 APS
1. The Danza (Arlo Bates), 2. He loves me (Newton MacIntosh), 3. Bygone Days (John Leslie Breck), 4. I know two eyes (anon.), 5. Sweet wind that blows (Oscar Leighton), 6. Lullaby (anon.)
KING DEATH (no author). Song w. p. APS
THE SEA KING (Barry Cornwall). Song w. p. APS
1886 DEDICATION ODE FOR CHORUS, SOLO AND ORCH. Composed for the dedication of the New Hollis St. Church of Boston, Op. 15 (Rev. Henry Bernhard Carpenter) APS
NOCTURNE (Th. B. Aldrich). Song w. p. APS
SONG FROM THE PERSIAN (Th. B. Aldrich). Song w. p. APS
THE BOY AND THE OWL. Men's voices APS
SERENADE ("Softly the moonlight"). Men's voices APS
DRINKING SONG. Men's voices APS
WHEN LOVE WAS YOUNG. Men's voices APS
1887 ALLAH (H. W. Longfellow). Song w. p. APS
THE LILY (Aless. Salvini, tr. by T. R. Sullivan). Song w. p. APS
THE LAMENT. Egyptian song from "Ben Hur" (Lew Wallace). Song w. p. APS
THREE SACRED SONGS, w. p. or organ APS
1. When our heads are bowed with woe, 2. O Mother dear, Jerusalem, 3. Let not your heart be troubled
JABBERWOCKY. Men's voices APS
STRING QUARTET IN D MAJOR, No. 3 [Kneisel Qu., Jan. 3, 1888] MS.
1888 SYMPHONY IN B FLAT, No. 2, Op. 21 [1883-5; Scherzo, Boston S.O., Mar. 8, 1884; complete, Boston S.O., Dec. 11, 1886]
BRIGHTEST AND BEST. Christmas anthem APS
THERE WERE SHEPHERDS. Christmas anthem APS
O DAY OF REST. Anthem APS
ABIDE WITH ME. Sacred trio w. org. APS
O CEASE, MY WANDERING SOUL. Sacred trio w. org. APS
BRIGHTEST AND BEST. Christmas song w. p. or org. APS
GREEN GROWS THE WILLOW (Burden). Song w. p. APS

- SORAI'S SONG (Rider Haggard). Song w. p. APS
 2 CAPRICES FOR THE PIANO APS
 BABY'S LULLABY BOOK; mother songs (Charles Stuart Pratt). L. Prang & Co.
- 1889 LOVELY ROSABELLE. Ballad for solo, chorus and orch. APS
 [Boston Orchestral Club, Dec. 10, 1889]
 3 BALLADS, w. p. APS
 1. A bonny curl (Amelie Rives), 2. The maiden and the butterfly (anon.), 3. A warning (Edward Breck)
 LULLABY. Women's voices w. p. APS
 PRAYER ("Thou sendest rain"). Anthem APS
- 1890 SERENADE IN F FOR STRING ORCHESTRA MS.
 QUINTET FOR PIANO AND STRINGS APS
 [Kneisel Qu. & composer, Jan. 23, 1888]
 PROGRESSIVE PEDAL STUDIES FOR ORGAN APS
 THE PILGRIMS (Mrs. Hemans). Chorus APS
 and orch.
 [Cecilia Society, Boston, Apr. 2, 1891]
 3 WALTZES FOR PIANO APS
 BEDOUIN LOVE-SONG (Bayard Taylor) APS
 SONGS OF BRITTANY. Arranged and harmonized from traditional Breton melodies (Ario Bates), w. p. APS
 1. Loud trumpets blow, 2. Proudly Child Haslin, 3. How flowers fade, 4. The autumn winds, 5. As summer wind, 6. Love is fleeting, 7. My sweetheart gave, 8. How youth with passion, 9. The lark that sang, 10. Proudly at noon, 11. The trumpet sounds, 12. The distaff whirled
 4 SONGS OF BRITTANY FOR TRIO OF WOMEN'S VOICES w. p. APS
 1. The autumn winds, 2. Love is fleeting, 3. My sweetheart gave, 4. The lark that sang
 O GOD, BE MERCIFUL. Anthem APS
 ART THOU WEARY? Anthem APS
- 1891 MELPOMENE. Dramatic overture, orchestra APS
 [Boston S.O., Dec. 24, 1887]
 MELPOMENE. Dramatic overture, arr. for p. 4 hds. by composer APS
 COME HITHER, YE FAITHFUL. Anthem APS
 BEHOLD THE WORKS OF THE LORD. Anthem APS
 WHILE THERE I SEEK. Anthem APS
 SAVIOUR, LIKE A SHEPHERD. Anthem APS
 A PASTORAL PRELUDE. Orchestra MS.
 [1891; Boston S.O., Jan. 30, 1892; Theo. Thomas, 1894]
- 1892 ODE FOR THE OPENING OF THE CHICAGO WORLD'S FAIR (Harriet Monroe). Chorus w. p., organ or orch. JC
 PHENIX EXPIRANS (Engl. vers., John Lord Hayes) Soli, chorus & orch. APS
 [Springfield Festival, 1892]
 TWO FOLK-SONGS, w. p. APS
 1. O love and joy (anon.), 2. The northern days (Christina Rossetti)
 THERE IS A RIVER. Sacred song w. p. or org. APS
 HE MAKETH WARS TO CEASE. Sacred song w. p. or org. APS
 HAIL, ALL HAIL THE GLORIOUS MORN. Sacred song w. p. or org. APS
 A FLOWER CYCLE (Ario Bates). 12 songs w. p. OD
1. The Crocus, 2. The Trillium, 3. The Water-Lily, 4. The Cyclamen, 5. The Wild Briar, 6. The Columbine, 7. The Foxglove, 8. The Cardinal Flower, 9. The Lupine, 10. The Meadow Rue, 11. The Jasmine, 12. The Jacqueminot Rose
- THE QUIET LODGING. Operetta (Ario Bates) MS.
 [privately given, Tavern Club, Boston, 1892]
- 1894 "TABASCO," Burlesque opera in 2 acts (R. A. Barnett) BFW
 [1893; First Corps Cadets, Tremont Theatre, Boston, Jan. 29, 1894; professional company, Boston Museum, April 9, 1894]
- 1895 NOCTURNE FOR PIANO JBM
 CHANSON ORIENTALE FOR PIANO JBM
 PASTORALE FOR ORGAN JBM
 [in Dudley Buck's "Vox organi," vol. 1, p. 6]
 THE LILY NYMPH (Ario Bates). Cantata for chorus and orch. APS
 [finished July 12, 1893, Westchop; composed for Philharmonic Society, Montreal]
 AWAKE UP, MY GLORY. Anthem APS
 PEACE AND LIGHT. Anthem APS
 LORD OF ALL POWER AND MIGHT. Anthem APS
 THOU WHO ART LOVE DIVINE. Anthem APS
 WELCOME HAPPY MORN. Anthem APS
 THE BEATITUDES. Mixed voices w. org. APS
 JUBILATE IN B FLAT. Mixed voices w. org. APS
 SENTENCES AND RESPONSES. Mixed voices w. org. APS
 WHEN THE LORD OF LOVE WAS HERE. Hymn ("Armstrong") APS
- 1896 SYMPHONY IN F, No. 3. Orchestra APS
 [1893-94; Boston S.O., October 20, 1894]
 LOCHINVAR (Walter Scott), for baritone solo and orchestra APS
 [sung by Max Heinrich at Springfield Festival, 1897]
 O HOLY CHILD OF BETHLEHEM (Phillips Brooks). Anthem APS
 INTRODUCTION AND THEME FOR ORGAN JBM
 [in Dudley Buck's "Vox organi," vol. 2, p. 200]
 REQUIEM FOR ORGAN JBM
 [in Dudley Buck's "Vox organi," vol. 3, p. 272]
 CANZONETTA FOR ORGAN JBM
 [in Dudley Buck's "Vox organi," vol. 3, p. 345]
- 1897 SHOUT, YE HIGH HEAVENS (Engl. by John Lord Hayes). Anthem APS
 ECCE JAM NOCTIS (Gregory, Engl. by Isabelle G. Parker). Men's voices, organ and orchestra APS
 [composed for the Commencement exercises at Yale, 1897]
 LYRICS FROM "TOLD IN THE GATE" APS
 1. Sweetheart, thy lips are touched with flame, 2. Sings the nightingale to the rose, 3. The rose leans over the pool, 4. Love's like a summer rose, 5. As in waves without number, 6. Dear love, when in thine arms, 7. Was I not thine, 8. In mead where roses bloom, 9. Sister fairest, why art thou sighing, 10. O let night speak of me, 11. I said to the wind of the south, 12. Were I a prince Egyptian
 IN MY BELOVED'S EYE (W. M. Chauvenet). Song w. p. (Scribner)
 HARMONY, A COURSE OF STUDY BFW

- 1898 SINCE MY LOVE'S EYES (W. M. Chauvenet). Song w. p. JC
I HAVE NOT FORGOTTEN (W. M. Chauvenet). Song w. p. JC
- 1899 "ADONAI." Elegiac overture, orchestra [1899; Boston S.O., Feb. 3, 1900] MS.
A BALLAD OF TREES AND THE MASTER (Sidney Lanier). Song w. p. or orch. [Awarded 1st prize in class IV, Musical Record compet., 1899]. OD
FAITH (Arthur Macy). Song w. p. JC
WHILE SHEPHERDS WATCHED. Carol APS
"TABASCO." March, orch. Wernthal, Berlin
- 1900 THE GOOD SAMARITAN (James Montgomery). Song w. p. JC
Lyric drama
- 1901 JUDITH (William Chauncey Langdon). GS
[1900-01; Worcester Festival, Sept. 26, 1901]
THE STORMY EVENING (R. L. Stevenson). School chorus CCB
- 1902 SIX SONGS w. p. GS
1. Euthanasia (Arthur Macy). 2. The aureole (Arthur Macy). 3. Adversity (Arthur Macy). 4. The wishing stream (W. M. Chauvenet). 5. Honeyuckle (Arthur Macy). 6. The stranger-man (Arthur Macy)
THREE SONGS w. p. GS
1. In my beloved's eyes (W. M. Chauvenet). 2. The brink of night (W. M. Chauvenet). 3. Thou art to me (Arthur Macy)
TWO FOUR-PART CHORUSES FOR WOMEN'S VOICES GS
1. Stabat mater (Giacopone). 2. Thistle-down (Arthur Macy)
STRING QUARTET IN E MINOR, No. 4 GS
[1895; Kneisel Quartet, 1896]
KEY TO THE TEXT-BOOK ON HARMONY SAINT BOTOLPH (Arthur Macy). Song BFW
w. p. BFW
[Written and composed for the 25th anniversary of the founding of the Saint-Botolph Club in Boston]
- 1903 HARK, HARK, MY SOUL (F. W. Faber). GS
Sacred song w. p.
HARK, HARK, MY SOUL (F. W. Faber). GS
Anthem
TWO FOUR-PART CHORUSES FOR WOMEN'S VOICES GS
1. Rondel (J. C. Grant). 2. Behind the lattice (S. M. Peck)
MORN'S ROSEATE HUES. Anthem N
TEACH ME, O LORD. Anthem OD
TEN LITTLE TUNES FOR TEN LITTLE FINGERS. Piano BFW
1. Pitty-itty sing. 2. Now I lay me. 3. Sis Tempy's story. 4. Making Kitty dance. 5. Little school bell. 6. The cricket and the bumblebee. 7. Spoiled darling. 8. The merry-go-round. 9. The king of the Orinktum Jing. 10. In grandma's gown.
- 1904 CLEOPATRA. Symphonic poem, orchestra MS.
[Worcester Festival, 1905]
THREE CHORUSES FOR (3) WOMEN'S VOICES (Meleager; Engl. by Lilla Cabot Perry) GS
1. To Heliodora. 2. At the bride's gate. 3. Dorcas
COME UNTO ME. Anthem GS
THOU SHALT LOVE THE LORD THY GOD. Anthem GS
SAVIOUR, AGAIN TO THY DEAR NAME (Rev. John Ellerton). Anthem N
SUN OF MY SOUL (Rev. John Keble). Anthem N
- 1905 FIVE PIECES FOR THE PIANO GS
1. Prélude joyeux. 2. In the canoe. 3. The rill. 4. The gloaming. 5. The frogs
- 1906 EUTERPE. Concert overture, orchestra GS
[1903-4; Boston S.O., April 23, 1904]
SINFONIETTA IN D MAJOR. Orchestra GS
[1904; Jordan Hall, Boston, Nov. 21, 1904]
- 1907 SYMPHONIC SKETCHES. Suite for orchestra GS
1. Jubilee [Dec. 1, 1895]. 2. Noël [Nov. 21, 1895]. 3. Hobgoblin [Feb. 10, 1904]. 4. A vagrom ballad [Feb. 13, 1896]
[complete work performed Feb. 7, 1908, Boston S.O.]
- 1908 THEME, VARIATIONS AND FUGUE FOR ORGAN AND ORCH. MS.
[Jordan Hall, Boston, Nov. 13, 1908]
- 1909 NOEL. Christmas pastoral for soli, chorus and orchestra HWG
[1907-8; Norfolk Festival, 1908]
A CHILD IS BORN. Carol (from "Noël") HWG
WHEN I VIEW THE MOTHER HOLDING. Anthem for women's voices (from "Noël") HWG
- 1910 STRING QUARTET IN D MINOR, No. 5 APS
[1898] (publ. privately)
FIVE SONGS w. p. APS
1. When stars are in the quiet skies (Bulwer Lytton). 2. Love's image (James Thomson). 3. Gifts (James Thomson). 4. When I am dead (Christina Rossetti). 5. O love, stay by and sing (T. R. Sullivan)
FOUR IRISH SONGS w. p. APS
1. Larry O'Toole (W. M. Thackeray). 2. The lady of Leith (Wm. Maginn). 3. Norah McNally (Anita Moór). 4. The recruit (R. Wm. Chambers)
MARY'S LULLABY (Cora A. M. Dolson). APS
Women's voices w. p. *ad lib.*
IN A CHINA SHOP (Geo. C. Hellman). APS
Women's voices w. p.
MISS NANCY'S GOWN (Zitella Cooke). APS
Women's voices w. p.
IT WAS A LOVER (Shakespeare). APS
Women's voices w. p.
INCONSTANCY (Shakespeare). Women's voices w. p. APS
ELFIN SONG (Jos. R. Drake). Women's voices w. p. APS
IT WAS A LOVER (Shakespeare). Men's voices w. p. *ad lib.* APS
INCONSTANCY (Shakespeare). Men's voices w. p. *ad lib.* APS
THREE PART-SONGS FOR MEN'S VOICES APS
1. Darest thou now. O soul (Walt Whitman). 2. Credo (Thackeray) 3. Pack, clouds, away (Thomas Heywood)
- 1911 EVERYWOMAN. A modern morality play (Walter Browne) TBH
[1910; New York, Feb. 21, 1911]
AGHADOE (John Todhunter). Ballad for contralto and orch. APS
THE SPRING BEAUTIES (Helen Gray Cone). Women's voices w. p. APS
SUITE SYMPHONIQUE IN E FLAT. Orchestra APS
[1910; First prize Nat. Feder. of Music Clubs; Phila. S.O., March 29, 1911]
ROMANZA. 'Cello and piano APS
AFAR ON THE PLAINS OF THE TIGRIS. Aria of Holofernes from "Judith," w. p. or orch. GS

- 1912 APHRODITE. Symphonic fantasia. Orchestra APS
[Norfolk Festival, June 4, 1912]
FOUR CHRISTMAS SONGS w. p. or orch. HWG
(from "Noli")
1. A voice from yonder manger, 2. O long and darksome was the night, 3. O holy child, 4. I was a foe to God
THE BUSY LARK (Chaucer). School chorus CCB
- 1913 I KNOW TWO EYES (anon.). Song w. p. APS
[1885] revised ed.
NOBLE'S TRADITIONS (Robert W. Rivers). School song w. p. Noble School
- 1914 THE DAUGHTER OF MENDOZA (M. B. Lamar). Song w. p. APS
THE GOLDEN HOUR (David Stevens). Song w. p. APS
YESTERDAY (David Stevens). Song w. p. APS
PERIWINKLE BAY (David Stevens). Song w. p. APS
FULFILMENT (David Stevens). Song w. p. APS
THE CURFEW (H. W. Longfellow). Song w. p. or orch. APS
EASTER MORN. Violin (or 'cello) and piano APS
FIVE SONGS (David Stevens) w. p. GS
1. The bobolink, 2. Roses, 3. The voice of Philomel, 4. When she gave me her hand, 5. When Phil-lis looks
"HAIL US DOCTORS OF SONG" (John Koren) Söngerfest
[Boston Söngerfest-Lied, 1914]
SONS OF HERMAN (James Leroy Sanford). School chorus CCB
THE LAMB (William Blake). School chorus CCB
- 1915 THE PADRONE. Opera (David Stevens) MS.
- 1916 SILENTLY SWAYING (V. von Scheffel). Women's voices w. p. OD
JEHOVAH REIGNS (Psalm 99). Men's voices w. organ or orch. OD
- 1917 ANGEL OF DEATH. Symphonic poem. Orchestra MS.
[New York S.O., memorial concert for Theo. Roosevelt, 1919]
THE NEW HAIL COLUMBIA (W. M. Lind). Marching song for men's voices w. p. or band (arr. by H. Semper from the "Tabasco" march) BFW
THE NEW HAIL COLUMBIA. March for piano (arr. by H. Semper) BFW
- THE FIGHTING MEN (M. A. de Wolfe Howe). Marching song w. p. CCB
LOVE'S SACRIFICE. Pastoral operetta in one act (David Stevens) CCB
TAM O'SHANTER. Symphonic ballad. Orchestra BMC
[1914-15; Norfolk Festival, June 3, 1915]
DOLLY (Austin Dobson). Women's voices w. p. OD
THE BLUEBELLS OF NEW ENGLAND (Th. B. Aldrich). Women's voices w. p. OD
- 1918 JUNE (Justin H. Smith). Women's voices w. p. OD
THESE TO THE FRONT (M. A. de Wolfe Howe). Men's voices w. p. OD
LAND OF OUR HEARTS (John Hall Ing-ham). Chorus for mixed voices w. p. or orchestra BMC
HERE COMES THE FLAG (Arthur Macy). School chorus CCB
- 1919 JOSHUA (R. D. Ware). Humorous song w. p. or orchestra OD
JOSHUA (R. D. Ware). Humorous song. Men's voices w. p. OD
- 1920 THREE NAUTICAL SONGS w. p. (No. 2 also w. orch) OD
1. The admirals (R. D. Ware), 2. Drake's drum (Henry Newbold), 3. Pirate song (Conan Doyle)
- 1921 MEXICAN SERENADE (Arline Guitelman). Mixed voices w. p. SBC
"HORATIO PARKER" (1863-1920). Memorial address read before the American Academy of Arts and Letters Yale Univ. Press
- 1922 ANNIVERSARY OVERTURE ORCHESTRA [Norfolk Festival, June 7, 1922] MS.
- 1923 THEME, VARIATIONS AND FUGUE FOR ORGAN SOLO BMC
[1908; Arranged by J. Wallace Goodrich from the orch. score]
SUITE IN VARIATION FORM FOR ORGAN HWG
1. Prelude, 2. Cipher (Pastorale), 3. Romance, 4. Tema, 5. Finale (Fugue)
THE IMMORTAL (Cale Young Rice). Spring song, mixed voices w. p. CCB
A BOOK OF CHORUSES FOR HIGH SCHOOLS AND CHORAL SOCIETIES, edited by George W. Chadwick, Osbourne McCon-athy, Edw. B. Birge, and W. Otto Miessner SBC

¹Since compiling this bibliography, I found that Mr. Chadwick contributed two songs "Kissing Time" and "Armenian Lullaby" to a collection of Eugene Field settings published by Scribner in 1896 as "Songs of Childhood."—C. E.

